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Are we better than our Fathers?

OR

A COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE SOCIAL POSITION OF ENGLAND AT THE REVOLUTION OF 1688 AND AT THE PRESENT TIME.

FOUR LECTURES

DELIVERED IN

ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, NOVEMBER, 1871.

BY

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CANON OF ST. PAUL'S.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Lectures were not prepared with any thought of their being published. In conjunction with one of my colleagues, I proposed to give a short series of Lectures in the small north-west chapel of the Cathedral; but that chapel being under repair at the time my Lectures commenced, and no other part of the Cathedral being available for the purpose, I was compelled to deliver them under the dome. The very large attendance on each occasion would have made any other arrangement inconvenient; but this I had not foreseen.

The object of the Lectures was to point to the existence of deep disorder in our social system. I had called attention to the subject in the University pulpit at Oxford in 1860, and in a series of Sermons on the poorer classes in 1867-9. In them I had spoken of the evil positively; I thought it might secure more attention and interest if I reviewed our position relatively by comparing it with some past period in our history. The Revolution of 1688 was convenient for my purpose; I therefore adopted it.

In instituting such a comparison, it was neces-

sary to prove my points, and that could only be done by an appeal to facts and figures. For employing them, if not for speaking upon topics not exclusively theological, I have been taxed with "delivering a series of Lectures under the dome upon topics utterly foreign and inconsistent with those objects for which alone the Metropolitan Cathedral was first consecrated, and to which it has ever since been exclusively devoted." This charge has been echoed by a portion of the Press. I do not feel that it can with justice be urged against me: I am therefore constrained to print the Lectures; it is the only answer which I can give.

One of the many difficulties of the clergy at the present day is that their views on social questions, practically affecting the religious life of the people entrusted to their care, are misrepresented, and that their reply is never heard. It is held to be beneath the dignity of the pulpit to discuss such questions there; the periodicals in which the clergy might express their views on such topics are seldom seen by those to whom they specially wish to explain them; and consequently the interests committed to their charge are being injured without their being heard in their defence. It seemed possible, and if possible desirable, to make available our Cathedrals for supplying such information to the people. It was thought that they might be opened on week-day evenings for

the consideration of questions directly bearing on the prominent social difficulties of the day, and so, necessarily, on the moral well-being of our people. It was hoped that in this way good service would be done to the Church and nation. And as a way seemed thus to be opened for making St. Paul's more useful to the young men of the city, and as this was a matter about which the Dean and Chapter were specially anxious, leave was readily given for the experiment to be made within its walls.

•The experiment of this series of Lectures has convinced me that an untold amount of practical power and influence has been allowed to lie dormant in our Cathedrals. They can yet do much for the Church and nation. Words spoken within their walls will be heard more widely than if spoken elsewhere. Questions deeply affecting the life and true prosperity of the Church and State, which are now never referred to in sermons, may be handled there with advantage. Some of the false views of our social and religious position, and of what is needed for its improvement, which are allowed to circulate, because those who could speak, feel that the only place from which they could speak effectively is improper for the purpose, it is hoped may here be refuted. I have ventured to use the Cathedral of St. Paul for examining one of such questions; and though I have employed statements drawn from political and

historical sources, and have discussed some points that seem to belong more immediately to the secular than to the ecclesiastical history of the country, I hope that the manner of the discussion has been strictly religious as a sermon would have been. I feel that it would be productive of great evil to speak of such subjects as I have dealt with in a party or political sense, and that the one end which the lecturer in a Cathedral should have ever before his eyes is that for which the Gospel was given to man, and the Cathedral consecrated. No one would deprecate more strongly than I should the use of our Cathedrals for purposes which had no relation to the glory of God, and the best interests of man. I have striven to place a high ideal before me: I am conscious that it has been most imperfectly realised. From the rule which I felt ought to guide me, I have not erred consciously, though I fear I may have done so through infirmity.

R. G.

*2, Residentiary Houses, St. Paul's,
Advent, 1871.*

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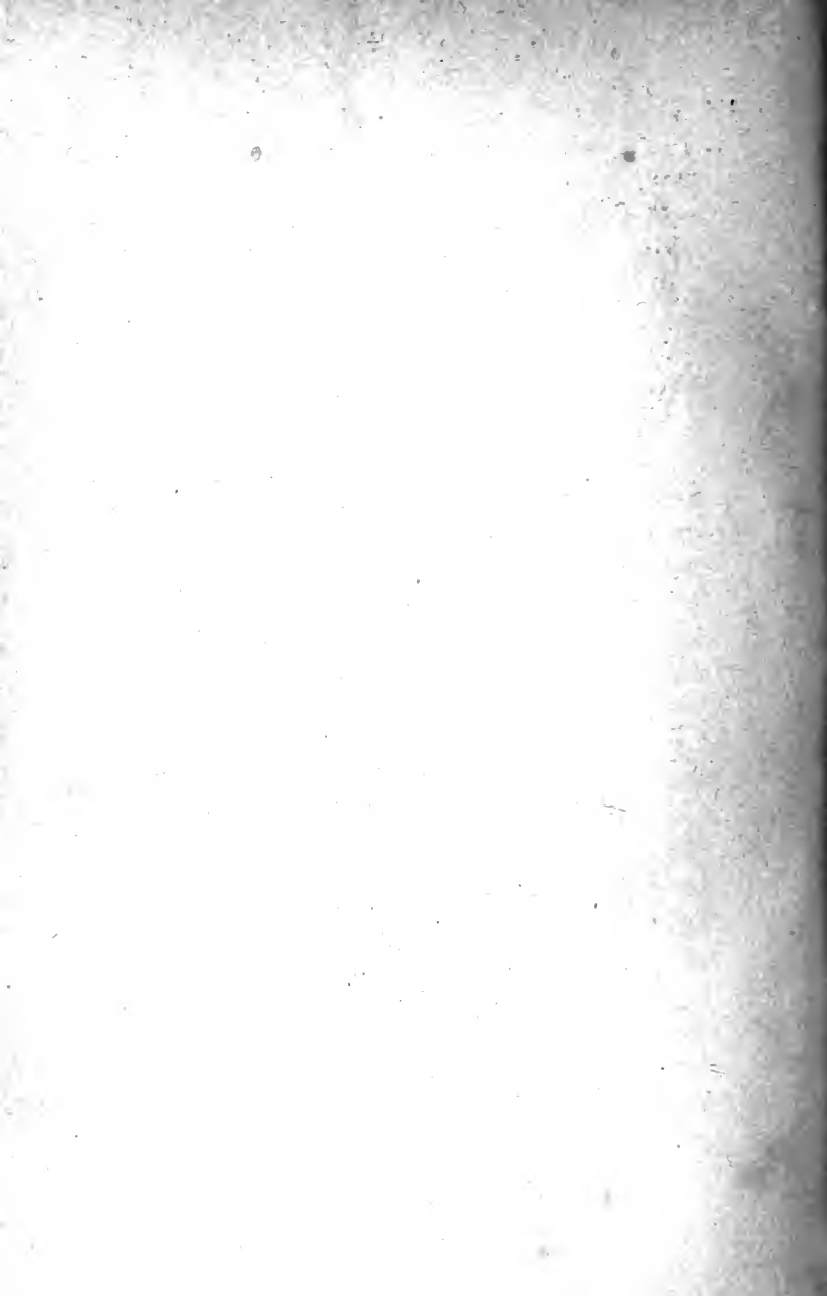
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INTRODUCTORY LECTURE.

ARE we better than our fathers? is a question easily asked, but with difficulty answered: at least so some of us may feel. On the other hand, others may be ready to assert with Lord Macaulay: "The more carefully we examine the history of the past, the more reason we shall find to dissent from those who imagine that our age has been fruitful of new social evils. The truth is, that the evils are, with scarcely an exception, old. That which is new, is the intelligence which discerns, and the humanity which remedies them^a."

I do not stand before you as a partisan of either view. I am not anxious to prove that we are better, or that we are worse, than were our fathers. But one thing is certain, that we are surrounded by a very different state of things, that the occupations, grouping, relations of rich and poor, are much changed from what they were; that these changes have been going on ceaselessly and noiselessly for more than a century;

^a "History of England," i. 435.

that without legislative enactment, frequently without any recognised individual influence, by a mere natural adjustment of the men of each generation to the facts which encompassed them, they have been brought about. It seems to me equally clear, that social changes so great as those which have taken place, ought, from time to time; to be considered by Christian moralists; and that they ought to examine whether there has been a corresponding re-adjustment of the systems they adopt to elevate, civilize, and Christianize those for whom they are responsible. To work well, we must work wisely. Really to do our duty to our neighbour, we must well consider what that duty is; or what we intend for his benefit may prove for his hurt; what we design for the improvement of his condition may altogether fail, because it has not discerned what is required by the changed aspect of the times. Hence it follows, that it does not suffice, whenever we see an evil, at once to seize and set in motion the remedy which seems most obvious. Such a mode of procedure, in an artificial state of society like ours, must involve waste of power, an unnecessary multiplication of machinery, the frequent loss of valuable helpers who might have been made available if more thought had been given, a perpetual preference for a remedy that alleviates

over one that promises a permanent and effective cure.

I propose, therefore, to compare past and present in the lectures I am intending to give, with the special design of helping us all to take a broader view of our moral obligations towards those amongst whom we live, to help us all to realize that we have social obligations as well as personal ones; that we are responsible for the influence we exert upon others not less than for our manner of ordering our own lives; and that for the right fulfilment of such obligations and responsibility, more consideration is needed than for deciding on what is best in those things which simply concern ourselves. And as it is the bounden duty of every one of us to help forward the general good of the community, therefore it must be essential that we should have a true idea of what that good consists in. If we take an inadequate view of the errors by which that good is hindered, or of the evils from which we suffer, or of the means necessary for their removal, we shall certainly fail to accomplish much that we would fain achieve.

Let me begin by attempting to depict some features of our social condition, and to compare such condition with that of a previous age. We are all apt to be prejudiced in favour of that

state of things amongst which we live ; and by this we are rendered unable to compare such present perfectly fairly with the past. The writers of the past, whilst dealing with their contemporary history, could not forecast its issues in the future ; whilst, too generally, what is written now concerning the past, is written with imperfect knowledge. Moreover, most writers have some bias of their own, some theory of politics or of religion which they wish to support ; and they are tempted to subordinate the strict accuracy of their narrative to this, which they consider a higher end. Questions which are now considered of primary importance, were not then even thought about. Opinion varies as to the standards by which the welfare or prosperity of a nation is to be judged. It becomes impossible, therefore, to take the views of men of different ages concerning their respective contemporaries, to set them side by side, and to think that from this we can correctly judge whether we are better than our fathers. The one only supreme rule of life that we possess is that which is contained in Holy Scripture : but even with respect to what is enjoined by it, our manner of judging is largely affected by the tone and temper of the time. One age is earnest and enthusiastic ; every thing that it proposes breathes of faith in the all-im-

portance of our relations to God and to Christ ; but its faith is one-sided and partial ; it aims at subjecting men, by discipline and by system, to the outward service of the Redeemer, whilst it fails completely to convert their whole being into a living resemblance to their Lord. Another age regards mainly the softening and humanizing precepts of the Christian law, and it proposes to be Christian without Christ, and to be like Him without faith in Him. Each of such ages must fail to furnish a complete exemplification of the teaching of Christ. We know that faith without charity is nothing worth ; whilst charity without faith exists only in men's imaginations, and is baseless as a dream, idle as a groundless hope. But it is impossible to compare together men of such dissimilar views. Each has a side on which he appears to accept revelation, but these sides are diverse the one from the other. The only thing that can be certainly said about both is, that in every generation the true Christian, accepting the whole counsel of God, and measuring himself and those with whom he is brought into contact by the rule of God's Commandments, must feel how infinitely short he and they come of fulfilling their requirements. In every age he must find much to mourn over, whilst in every age he will probably find much which seems to mark present

amendment, or which promises to be the germ of great improvements in the future.

Bearing this in mind, and applying the principle it contains, let us try to compare the England of to-day with England as it was at the Revolution of 1688. In outward appearance, and in things which affect our daily comfort, what vast changes! and how many of them for the better. How greatly has the system of agriculture improved. Few fields were then enclosed; comparatively few tracts of country are now without hedges or other fences: it was then difficult to find a road on which a carriage could travel easily and safely; we have now excellent roads, reaching to every village and hamlet in the country, and railways traversing the length and breadth of the land: communications between people separated even by a few miles were then infrequent and costly; we have now not only the penny post, by which the most distant parts of the country are brought into regular and rapid relations with each other, but also telegraphs, by which intervening space is all-but annihilated: it was then difficult for any to ascertain with any approach to correctness what was happening even in the same country, much less what was occurring at a distance; we are now flooded with information concerning what happened yesterday in nearly every part of the world.

The history and action of the world has thus become universally contemporary, instead of being broken up by the length of intervening journeys and the delay of distant and uncertain communications. Multitudes of things, which are now regarded as necessities, and are so cheap as to be within the reach of all, were then so costly as to be prohibited luxuries to all but the very few.

If we turn from such things to the manner in which people were grouped, we find vast changes. The population is now four times as numerous as it was then, and the people are much more massed in large towns. There were then few towns with more than 10,000 inhabitants; in 1861, there were thirty-five with more than 50,000 each; and London and seventy-one other towns, contained two-fifths of the whole population. Again, the wealth of the country has increased at a much more rapid rate than the population. It was estimated in 1688, that the annual income of all the people in England and Wales was 43 millions, whilst in 1867 it was 662 millions. The nominal income, therefore, had been multiplied more than fifteen times, whilst the population had been multiplied only four times. But then, to make the comparison complete, we must remember that the value of money in 1688 was greater than it is now in the proportion of five to two. Make this allow-

ance, and the population will be found to have grown more than four times, whilst the income has grown six times, or 50 per cent. more rapidly. But far be it from us to suppose, that mere considerations of material wealth and comfort can enable us to determine conclusively whether we are, or are not, better than our forefathers. Striking contrasts of this kind are often cited to shew the vast advance, the great improvements we have made; but they only tell of the outward accidents amid which our lot is cast, and that science, and human skill and ingenuity, have been successfully at work to make better use of those gifts which a gracious Creator has provided for the benefit of His creatures. The answer to the question, what constitute the good or evil, the happiness or misery, the elevation or depression of a people, must be sought elsewhere.

The contrast between our times and those of the Revolution, regarded from a religious point of view, is not at all great or startling. The age of the Revolution differed fundamentally from what we are accustomed to describe as ages of faith. But it was a time when men were beginning to sicken of the open licentiousness and profligacy which had succeeded, by a natural reaction, to the enforced religiousness and hypocrisy of the Commonwealth. No doubt there then

existed much of the unbelief which a few years later broke out into open attacks upon the truth of revelation, and the existence of a God. There was also an earnest desire in some hearts for the spread of the Redeemer's kingdom beyond what had been manifested since the era of the Reformation. Then for the first time, we find organized efforts for proclaiming Christ's Gospel to the heathen abroad, and for the more careful instruction of the people at home, as evidenced by the foundation of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and other pious undertakings. In these respects the age largely resembled our own. It has left no great monuments of its zeal in multiplied churches and schools, such as this age will hand down to posterity ; yet we cannot forget that without a murmur the people of this metropolis a few years earlier had voluntarily taxed themselves for erecting this noble cathedral ; that after the great fire public funds had been generously applied towards the erection and maintenance of churches, to occupy the place of those which had been destroyed ; and that for such a public recognition of Christianity we should look in vain in our own time. But, as I need scarcely add, it were at best a fruitless enquiry to ask how far the

people then were leavened with the principle of religion ; whilst it would be almost equally vain to offer any positive answer to that question now. Our object cannot be to pry within the vail ; to compare together things which our imperfect knowledge excludes from the sphere of our observation and judgment. I wish for us to make the comparison only in those points which involve practical duties to those amongst whom we live, only so far as we may obtain hints to guide us towards a better understanding and appreciation of the difficulties by which we are surrounded in the present.

But perhaps it may be thought that we should find important materials for a comparison between our own days and those of our fathers in the annals of crime : that we may fairly compare the two, by examining what proportion of the population, at the two periods, belongs to the criminal classes. But here, again, we are met by several difficulties. The men of those days were not so thoughtful in preserving the record of offences as we are. The criminal classes were not objects of the same philanthropic regard that they are now. The state of the prisons a century later was most discreditable, but it is possible that at the time of the Revolution such culpable neglect did not exist. But however this may have been, the character of

crime must have been very different then from what it is now. It might, perhaps, be not unjustly said that an age of comparative violence has been succeeded by an age of fraud. When the country was thinly peopled, there were temptations which do not now exist for bands of men to roam about it, and plunder houses and their well-disposed inhabitants. When the streets of our towns were unlighted, and the suburbs unguarded by policemen, there were opportunities of robbing travellers and way-farers which are not now to be found. But on the other hand, in a trading generation like ours, there are facilities for peculation and commercial dishonesty, by which many are led astray, but which were then unknown. If, therefore, we had complete records of crime before us, we should probably find that deeds of violence and open robbery were more common about the time of the Revolution than they are now, but that such crimes as embezzlement and fraud are vastly more numerous now than they were then. Another difficulty in the comparison arises from the very different kind of punishment awarded at the two periods. Death was then the penalty for a number of crimes which are now visited with a much lighter sentence. When the national defences against wrong-doers were feeble, the State sought to terrify by the severity with which it punished

crime ; so soon as an efficient police-force was organized, to make the perpetration of evil more difficult, and its discovery more certain, a juster and more merciful relation was instituted between the crime committed and the punishment by which it was avenged.

There are two other points on which it is often urged, and I believe truly, that we bear a favourable comparison with our ancestors. The one is the more general diffusion of education ; the other, a social amelioration, through which manners have become less coarse and rude. With respect to the first of these, there can be no doubt that the great mass of our poorer people are much more instructed than they were some years since ; that the proportion of those who can read and write is vastly increased. I greatly rejoice over the consequent development of their intellectual powers, and the opening of new fields of improvement and pleasure. But let us take care that we are not misled by sounds. The very word "education" shews that it is a transition state—a period in which people are being trained for a future stage in their existence. The real benefits of education must therefore be eventually decided by the influence it exerts upon those parts of our individual or national character which form the standards for measuring our improvement or retrogression. Let

us not fall into the mistaken idea that the mass of people are educated now, and were not educated formerly. It really is, that then they were educated for their future life chiefly by hand-labour, and by being made useful in connection with their homes; whilst now they are educated chiefly by the direct cultivation of their intellect. So, too, with respect to the manners of the people. There can be no doubt that rough, cruel amusements, such as bull-baiting, and dog or cock-fighting, are things of the past, and that in many respects the unfeeling harshness and coarse brutality which marked the habits of the people have been modified and softened. There has been advance in civilization, in smoothing the surface of society, in removing much that must always have been offensive to humane and educated people. How far this improvement reaches below the surface it is difficult to decide. It is well for us to be thankful for what we can regard as true progress, even though it may affect only the surface; for far better that the surface should be improved than that all should remain as it was. But to secure a fair and adequate comparison we must work below the surface, to the causes which most influence men's minds and conduct.

There are, then, three points which seem to me of especial importance in estimating our social

position, three heads of enquiry to which I would call your attention, as most deeply affecting our relations to one another, and influencing very largely our true national prosperity and well-being. Before speaking of them, I would, however, say most emphatically, that I regard as of infinitely chiefest moment the moral and spiritual condition of the people. It is "righteousness that exalteth a nation;" it is "sin which is a reproach to any people^b." But for reasons that I have already assigned, I feel that it would be undesirable, even if it were possible, to institute a comparison on this point.

Of first importance, then, in considering the state of a country, is the manner in which the wealth and comforts it provides are distributed amongst its people. That all should be equal, is obviously not accordant with the conditions of our existence in this world; that the life of all should be made equally comfortable, prosperous, and happy, is rendered impossible by the sloth, folly, and vice of such multitudes of our fellows, even more than by the diversity of talents with which men are endowed. But still we must all feel that that country is most prosperous and happy in which the largest number of its people are well cared for; that that country is furthest

^b Proverbs xiv. 34.

removed from discontent, and from the wish to overthrow the existing order of things, in which the wealth of the nation is most equally divided amongst its citizens ; and that it must be a cause for increasing disquietude, whenever society is being more and more unequally divided between the very rich and the very poor. The strength of a nation is obviously largely dependent upon its unity. That nation is happiest and best, the citizens of which look upon themselves as members of a large family, in which each and all feel bound to do what they can for the benefit of those who surround them ; the richer members lightening the load of the poorer ones to the best of their power ; the poorer members honouring and respecting those who are in more prosperous circumstances ; all alike remembering that they are children of one common Father, and from love to Him, and an earnest and sincere desire to honour Him, trying to smoothe the cares, to alleviate the trials, and to increase the happiness of all with whom they are brought into contact.

Such a state of feeling is encouraged by a wide diffusion of the resources of a country amongst its people, and is greatly hindered by the accumulation of wealth in few hands. Neither condition will secure that genuine sense of brotherhood which can result only from our true appre-

ciation of the fatherhood of God ; but there can be no doubt that the one condition is more conducive to such a state of feeling than is the other, and therefore more inclines men's hearts to the discharge of the duties it requires. I propose, therefore, to examine in my next lecture how we stand, as compared relatively with the people who lived in 1688, in regard to the diffusion of wealth amongst the masses of our people ; and to consider, further, what duties may be demanded from us by any differences which may have arisen.

A second point, following upon this first enquiry, will be the relations existing between employers and employed, between capital and labour. We find it so ordered that one portion of the population has to support itself by earning wages or salaries from another portion. The happiness of both portions must largely depend upon the relations between them. I propose, in my third lecture, to examine how far these relations differ now from what they were two hundred years since ; and how far the changes which have been made are likely to conduce to the happiness and well-being of those concerned, or to exercise an unfavourable influence.

And then, lastly, I should wish to consider with you the conditions of the very poorest class of our people, and our duties towards them.

Pauperism is a question that demands our gravest consideration. Political economists are trying to persuade us that it exists chiefly because good-natured people yield to what such reasoners regard as a self-indulgent habit of almsgiving ; whilst those who are more thoroughly acquainted with the condition of our poorest people are deeply convinced that such an explanation is utterly inadequate, if not untrue ; and that whilst it may be partially applicable to what has been done by some well-intentioned but inconsiderate people, it in no sense accurately describes the result of the efforts of painstaking philanthropists.

I hope that from such consideration we may gather some useful hints as to the guidance of our future conduct, that we may learn from them better to understand our present relations to those around us, and to be stirred up to more diligent efforts to prove our true brotherhood in Christ by acts of love towards our fellows, and not by mere general expressions of sympathy which cost us nothing, and for that very reason can render nobody the slightest service.

LECTURE II.

IN my last lecture, I stated that the first point on which I proposed to compare our present social condition with that of the period of the Revolution, is the manner in which wealth, and the comforts it provides, are distributed amongst the people. I shall venture to assume that you remember the reasons I then gave for commencing our comparison at this point.

Fairly to institute this comparison, we must ascertain the relative value of money at the two periods. This is not easily fixed. Wheat was dear during many of the later years of the reigns of Charles II. and James II., and was sold for as much as 70s. a-quarter; but in 1688 it was only 24s. House-rent, meat, butter, cheese, and other agricultural products did not then command one-fourth of the price which they now obtain. The rent of land has risen to an even greater extent. Home-spun clothing, such as was commonly used by the labouring classes, could be made at a very moderate cost; whilst woollen or linen clothing, skilfully manufactured, would be much more

expensive than at present, and foreign produce was regarded as luxury intended only for the wealthy.

If we turn from the prices paid for the necessities of life to the amount earned by hand-labour, we find that when this cathedral was built, the ordinary payment to a carpenter was 2*s.* 6*d.* a-day; the bricklayers, as they are called in the rolls, probably meaning thereby the stone-masons, received a daily wage of 3*s.*; whilst they were assisted by a considerable number of men who received 1*s.* 6*d.* or 1*s.* 4*d.* a-day; probably those who received the higher wage were apprentices, and those who were paid the lower sum were hodmen. The watchmen were paid 8*d.* a-night.

From these data we have to draw our own conclusions. Our estimate would be exaggerated if it were based only on the relative price of the necessities of life common to the two periods, as there are many things to be taken into account which reduce the ratio. Instead, therefore, of estimating the proportions as one to four, I will assume that 1*s.* then was equivalent to 2*s.* 6*d.* now; certainly more could be obtained for 1*s.* of what was considered necessary in 1688, than can be procured for 2*s.* 6*d.* of what is deemed essential in 1871. For, as Professor Levi observes,

when comparing two periods less remotely apart :
“Taking all into account, it is probable that the increase of wages which has taken place has scarcely been equivalent to the corresponding increase in the expenditure of the working classes ^a.”

I may add that Professor Thorold Rogers, who is a great authority on this subject, considers that my estimate is too low rather than too high, and that I should be justified in stating the proportions of value as one and three.

For the sake of clearness, I shall subject all amounts of income to the standard of value which I have stated, before naming them to you ; so that an income of £40 in 1688, I shall describe as if it were £100.

The population of England and Wales, in 1688, was reckoned between $5\frac{1}{4}$ and $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions ^b ; in 1867, it was considerably over 21 millions ^c ; it had therefore multiplied about four times in the intervening period. The income of the people from all sources, in 1688, was estimated to be

^a “Wages and Earnings of the Working Classes,” xlii., xliii.

^b “The number of people, as they answered in the 12 poll of 1st William and Mary, was 5,400,000 ; the number as given in returns for the quarterly poll of 3rd William and Mary was 5,390,000.”—*Natural and Political Observations, by Gregory King, edited by Geo. Chalmers* (1810), p. 57.

^c In 1871, it was 22,704,108.

equal to 107½ millions^d; in 1867, it was reckoned at 662 millions^e: it had therefore increased more than six-fold, or 50 per cent. more rapidly than the population.

In using these figures and those which follow, I ought to state that I take Mr. Gregory King

^d The yearly rent of lands was about	10 millions
" " Burgage or housing, about. . . .	2 "
" " all other hereditaments "	1
" " trades, professions and	
offices "	10 "
" " wages of manual labour "	20 "
	<u>43</u> "

Gregory King's Observations, p. 47.

^e In 1865-6,

Income-tax was levied on Lands (owners), Houses, Railways, Mines, &c., in England (Schedule A) on	£125,143,490
Income-tax was levied on Lands (occupiers); on half the rent (Schedule B)	28,890,437
Income-tax was levied on Public Funds (British, Foreign, and Colonial—Schedule C)	31,930,560
Income-tax was levied on Trades and Professions, and Foreign property (Schedule D)	103,908,302
Income-tax was levied on Public Offices (General, Local, and Railway)	19,302,458
	<u>309,175,247</u>
Increase from 1865 to 1867; unreturned profits under Schedule D and the £60 excused on in- comes between £100 and £200, estimated at	38,200,000
The 1,003,000 persons under £100 a-year, esti- mated at	60,000,000
Manual labour classes, estimated at	254,729,000
	<u>£662,104,247</u>

National Income, pp. 22, 34, 51.

as my guide for the earlier period, and chiefly Mr. Dudley Baxter for the more recent one. Their estimates commend themselves to my judgment by the arguments and ascertained facts on which they rest; but necessarily no such estimates can be absolutely correct. I would also add, that the greater attention now paid to statistical enquiries secures for us an amount of information concerning the present, for which we look in vain in the past.

Without further preface, I will place before you a comparative view of the manner in which the wealth of England and Wales, according to these authorities, was divided amongst its inhabitants at the two periods. To take first the very rich. In 1867, there were 7,500 persons (or 1 in 2,800 of the 21 millions of people), who possessed an income exceeding £5,000 a-year^f; and of these 7,500 persons, nearly one-third derived that income from some official position, trade, or profession^g:

^f National Income, p. 36.

^g In the "Times" of August 20, 1866, appeared a "return of persons paying Income-tax for Trades and Professions (Schedule D) in the financial years ending 5th April, 1864, and 1865."

		Great Britain.	
		1863-4.	1864-5.
£ 5,000 and under £10,000	. . .	1,140	1,283
10,000 ,, 50,000	. . .	731	866
50,000 and upwards	. . .	91	107

These returns do not include incomes from public offices (General,

in 1688, 160 persons^h (or 1 in 34,375 of the 5½ millions of people), enjoyed an equal revenue, and not one of them drew his income from any official position, or was engaged in any trade or profession. In 1867, 42,000 personsⁱ (or 1 in 500 of the population), possessed an income ranging from £1,000 to £5,000 a-year; and of these, more than one-fourth derived that income from some official position, trade, or profession^j: in 1688, 6,426 persons^k (or 1 in 855 of the population), had an equal amount to spend; and of these, nearly one-third were engaged in some trade or profession. When we come to more moderate incomes, varying from £300 to £1,000 a-year, we

Local, and Railway), which are assessed under Schedule E, and in 1866 amounted to £21,528,302.

Yearly income.
^h "160 Temporal Lords £2,800."
Gregory King, p. 48.

ⁱ National Income, p. 36.

	1863-4.	1864-5.
^j £1,000 and under £2,000	6,862	7,374
2,000 „ 3,000	2,103	2,204
3,000 „ 4,000	1,100	1,138
4,000 „ 5,000	557	627

Times, Aug. 20, 1866.

	Annual income.
^k 26 Spiritual Lords	£1,300
800 Baronets	880
600 Knights	650
3,000 Esquires	450
2,000 Merchants and Traders by sea	400

Gregory King, p. 48.

find that in 1867 there were 150,000 persons¹ (or 1 in 140 of the population), so endowed; and that of these, nearly a third derived their income from some trade or profession^m: whilst, in 1688, there were 40,000 personsⁿ (or 1 in 137 of the population), equally fortunate; and of these, nearly three-fourths filled official positions of various kinds, or were engaged in some trade or profession. Of small incomes, we find that, in 1867, there were 850,500 persons^o (or 1 in 24 of the population), in receipt of an income varying from £100 to £300; and of these, one-fourth^p derived their

¹ National Income, p. 36.

		1863-4.	1864-5.
^m £300 and under £400		18,278	19,171
400 „ 500		9,313	9,973
500 „ 600		7,097	7,428
600 „ 700		4,026	4,293
700 „ 800		2,549	2,754
800 „ 900		2,231	2,359
900 „ 1,000		944	1,070
<i>Times</i> , Aug. 20, 1866.			

Annual income.

ⁿ 12,000 Gentlemen	£280
5,000 Persons in Office	240
5,000 „ „	120
8,000 Merchants and Traders	200
10,000 Persons in the Law	140

Gregory King, p. 48.

^o National Income, p. 36.

	1863-4.	1864-5.
^p £100 and under £200	153,120	159,709
200 „ 300	41,592	44,488
<i>Times</i> , Aug. 20, 1866.		

income from some trade or profession: whilst, in 1688, there were 405,000 persons^a (or 1 in 13 of the population), equally provided for. At neither period do I include in the number of those possessing such an income any artizans, or persons engaged in hand-labour. There is one other class existing in 1867, which was not to be found in 1688, I mean that of persons of the upper and middle classes whose incomes are on the same level with persons engaged in hand-labour. It is estimated that 1,003,000 persons^r of these classes were exempt from income-tax, because their earnings fell below £100 a-year.

Before passing from this part of my subject, I would recapitulate, in order to call your attention to the differences of income which I indicated in passing. The very rich have multiplied relatively twelve-fold between 1688 and 1867: in the earlier year, only 1 in 34,375 of the population hav-

	Annual income.
^a 2,000 Clergymen	£60
8,000 „	45
40,000 Freeholders	84
140,000 „	50
150,000 Farmers	44
16,000 Persons in Science and Liberal Arts .	60
40,000 Shop-keepers and Tradesmen . .	45
5,000 Naval Officers	80
4,000 Military Officers	60

Gregory King, p. 48.

^r National Income, p. 36.

ing an income equivalent to £5,000, or upwards; whilst, in 1867, 1 in 2,800 was equally wealthy. The moderately rich have also considerably added to their relative numbers; for whilst 1 person in every 500 had an income ranging from £1,000 to £5,000 in 1867, only 1 in 855 had an equal revenue in 1688. The proportion of persons possessing a moderate competency of between £300 and £1,000 a-year was about equal at the two periods,—1 person in 140 being in that position in 1867, and 1 in 137 in 1688. But when we come to the relative numbers of those enjoying a very moderate income, varying from £100 to £300 a-year, we find the proportions completely changed. 1 person in 13 was in this position in 1688, whilst only 1 in 24 was equally removed above want in 1867. These figures are fearfully suggestive, when we remember that the annual increase of the capital of the country is estimated at 150 millions^s. It would seem from this, that

^s “The increase of income from capital; charged to income-tax from 1855 to 1865, was £62,000,000. Capitalized at an average of 5 per cent., this gives 1,240 millions sterling as the increase of capital actually charged to income-tax in 1865 over that in 1855.”

—*National Income*, p. 97.

The rate of increase is most probably greater at the end of the ten years than at the beginning; and it cannot be supposed that all the increase is charged with the income-tax, some of it belonging to persons whose incomes would not be chargeable. The estimate in the text, therefore, cannot be much in excess.

the vast proportion of such accumulation only adds to the wealth of the few, and is not so distributed as to increase the comforts of the many.

But even this array of figures does not tell the whole story. The numbers I have given represent the persons possessing or earning independent incomes. I need not tell you that many who are in this position have others dependent upon them, a wife and children, who share their fortune whatever it may be. I am surprised to find the estimated number of such dependent persons so small in the upper and middle classes. By a comparison of the census tables of 1861 with the income-tax returns, Mr. Dudley Baxter computes that of these classes about three persons are found without incomes of their own, where there are two who enjoy them; so that, whilst there are 2,053,000 persons¹ who possess an independent income, there are nearly three millions who are dependent upon them. The class of earners or possessors includes wives who derive an income from settled property, children who have property or income independent of their parents, and most probably a very large proportion of persons who are exempted from payment of income-tax. No doubt the number is considerably swelled by widows and others enjoying

¹ National Income, p. 15.

small pensions or annuities, or possessing small sums in the funds, or railway or other stocks. Whilst it is probably chiefly made up of clergymen and other professional men with small incomes, and clerks in mercantile houses and banks whose salaries are paid quarterly. In 1688, the proportion of possessors of accumulated money^u or of independent salary-winners would necessarily be much smaller than it is now. There was but little accumulated wealth, and land cannot be divided so readily as money. The wife and the children of persons of the upper and middle classes might make home-spun garments, or in other ways add to the comfort of the family; but without manufactures, and whilst living in the seclusion of villages or small towns, few women or children who were not of the poorest class would be able to earn money; and Mr. Gregory King, in his estimate, makes no mention of any who so added to the family income. The estimate, in 1688, was $4\frac{1}{2}$ persons to a house in London, and 4 persons to a house in the country^v; let us take the latter figure as representing the average size of a family; for probably the difference arises from the num-

^u Davenant estimates the whole amount of money at interest at twenty millions.—*Davenant's Political and Commercial Works*, edited by Sir C. Whitworth, M.P. (1771), p. 57.

^v Gregory King's Observations, p. 35.

ber of domestic servants employed in many town-houses.

Taking these figures then, we have this result : in 1688, 451,586 persons, who with their families would number nearly two millions, shared in the enjoyment of an income equivalent to £100 a-year or upwards : whereas in 1867, from the returns described above, we estimate that about five millions were in that position. In other words, at the earlier period, about one-third of the population, nearly 2 millions out of $5\frac{1}{2}$, were not dependent upon hand-labour, and were in a state of comparative comfort and independence : in 1867, only 5 millions out of 21 were equally well circumstanced. It will help to make the meaning of these figures more clear, if I add that the income-tax was assessed upon incomes amounting to about 340 millions, whilst an additional income of 60 millions is supposed to belong to persons of the upper and middle classes, but in such small proportions to each, as to be exempt from that impost^w. Mr. Dudley Baxter estimates the annual earnings of the manual labour classes to be nearly 255 millions^x ; so that about eight-thirteenths of the income of the country is the property of one-fourth of the population, and five-thirteenths have to be divided amongst the other three-fourths. In 1688,

^w National Income, p. 34.

^x Ibid., pp. 40—52.

when the income of the country was equivalent to 107½ millions, the estimate is that 57½ of these millions were divided amongst the one-third of the population which constituted the upper and middle classes, whilst 50 millions were distributed amongst those who were engaged in hand-labour^γ.

Another point is suggested by these figures, which must be noticed. There is no reason to suppose that the families of the upper and middle classes are less numerous than those of the classes engaged in hand-labour. But as the number of those who win their daily bread by the severer toil is now much larger relatively to that of persons supported by income otherwise derived than it was in 1688, it follows that more persons fall from a higher station to a lower one, than ascend from the more toilsome position to one of greater affluence. When we remember the great number of active, industrious men who are ever rising in the world, it is painful to contemplate the reverse side of the picture. It is possible that the proportions are considerably affected by the larger emigration of younger sons of the middle classes; but as I know of no statistical tables from which I could learn this, I can only suggest an unknown quantity, which, if known, might more satisfactorily

^γ Gregory King's Observations, p. 47.

account for the present position of many members of the middle and upper classes.

To have a more complete picture of the state of society at the two periods before us, we must bear in mind the great change which has taken place in the distribution of the population. In 1688, more than 4 of the 5½ millions of people living in England and Wales had their homes in villages and hamlets²; in 1867, more than 13 of the 21 millions lived in places having a population of not less than 2,000 each, whilst more than one-third had their homes in London and seventy-one other large towns³.

Let us now turn to the consideration of the effect which these changes will probably have had upon the happiness and well-being of the people. At the earlier period, there was an upper class separated by a considerable gulf from those below them. Very few of the mercantile classes obtained peerages, and the great avenue by which the ablest men from the middle or lower classes entered the House of Lords, was either by becoming ministers of the Church, and then bishops;

² Gregory King's estimate is (p. 35),

London and within the bills of mortality	.	527,560
Other cities and market towns	. . .	855,000
Villages and hamlets	4,040,000

³ Census tables, 1861.

or, less frequently, as successful lawyers winning a peerage. The consequence of this would be, that the hereditary aristocracy would be regarded as a class apart; if kind and courteous, affable and generous, they would be honoured and respected, each in his own neighbourhood, and in any case would possess considerable influence from their position. But the number of these men was very small. There were then only 160 temporal peers. But below them was a large number of gentlemen with small independent estates, the great majority of whom would own much too limited an income to enable them frequently to visit London, or any place distant from their own homes. The description we have of these squires shews, as we should expect, every variety of character amongst them. For the most part, they were fond of field sports, were little addicted to literature, were rough in their manners, not infrequently coarse in their speech; some amongst them were patterns of practical piety, whilst others were of a very different stamp. But with most of them it was habitual to cultivate kind and friendly relations with their tenants and dependants. Seldom away from home, they would have personal knowledge of all who surrounded them: and from such personal knowledge would spring acts of kindness and sympathy. They would be

a bond of connexion to all who dwelt in their thinly-peopled parishes. Many of them might have gross and glaring faults, and might demoralize by their actions and example, but the greater portion of them would gather round themselves a large amount of personal regard, would elevate and improve by their better education, and would be a great civilizing influence in their respective neighbourhoods. They and their families would be much looked up to by their immediate surroundings, and the desire for their regard and approbation would greatly affect the conduct of the people. Country parishes are still to be found where the direct religious influence of squires who died nearly half-a-century back still survives. Regular and attentive in their own attendance at church, strictly just, considerate and generous in all the relations of life, they expected all who lived in the parish to copy their example; and it certainly says much for the power they exerted in moulding the people of their own day, that the effect of what they did so long since survives. My own knowledge of such parishes is very limited, and does not extend beyond one or two; but the fact that there are now any such, suggests that there must have been very many more. Whilst it is more than probable, that if such influence was so strongly felt half-a-century

back, it would have been much more powerful two centuries since, when people had much fewer opportunities of journeying far from their own homes.

There is one other point to be noted. Wealth was then too thinly scattered, and the comforts and conveniences of an advanced civilization too little understood, for the age to be a luxurious one. The Squire enjoyed ample store of what the neighbourhood provided, with a few additions from without ; the labouring classes had a rough sufficiency of the necessaries of life. Personal intercourse would deprive the difference in station and in the possession of the means of enjoyment of any sting to those in the less favoured classes of society : the very inconveniences to which the wealthy were exposed from bad roads, from the dangers and difficulties of travel, and similar causes, would help to place all more upon a level.

Now contrast this state of things with what exists at the present day. The larger portion of the people live in towns, and it is of these I would speak : for in the country portions of England, there still lingers a good deal of the old spirit. In large towns, the rich live in one quarter, the poor in another. There is little or no intercourse between them, except in what relates to employment, and of this I will speak in my next lecture.

There can, therefore, be few personal ties binding persons of different social ranks together. There is no opportunity for that display of friendly feeling in ordinary times, and of kindly sympathy and generous help in seasons of sorrow or adversity, which occur naturally in smaller places where all know each other. Wealth has greatly increased, and with it the appliances of luxury. The streets abound with the carriages of the rich, the shop-windows are filled with what ministers to comfort or luxury, and the many must feel that all this is for the enjoyment of the comparatively few; and as they know little or nothing of the few, there is danger lest they should envy their lot. It probably is quite true that the working-man has many comforts and luxuries now which he could not have had 200 years since; it is equally true that the gap which separates him from the wealthy is more likely to irritate now than it was then, is more thrust upon his notice, is not softened by ties arising from personal acquaintance, whilst he is deprived of advantages in bearing the trials of life which he then enjoyed. Moreover, he now not infrequently sees one, who was a short time since his equal, elevated into the ranks of his superiors by success in some branch of industry, and to the enjoyment of the comforts which affluence brings. It would be a mistake to suppose that

fellow-workmen feel themselves elevated by the prosperity of an old comrade. It rather excites them to contrast their lot with his, to be dissatisfied with their position, and to murmur for some change which shall elevate them too. This is proved by the restraints placed by Trades' Unions upon the exceptional powers, or increased opportunities of earning, enjoyed by some of their members. Men generally behold hereditary rank or wealth, if properly spent, without a thought of discontent, whilst they chafe at the inequality which results from the better fortune of former equals. The effect of this is felt on all sides of us. Everybody is restless and looking upward; the active and energetic struggling to be something more than they now are: the inactive and self-indulgent murmuring and dissatisfied because certain impossible improvements of their lot have not been vouchsafed. It is well for us to remember that in every age men measure themselves by those who are beside them; and that it will not content those living in a later age to be assured that they enjoy more comforts and luxuries than did their compeers of a former generation, that they possess more opportunities of rising in the world, if they have never been able to use any of them; all will count for little or nothing, if their position relatively to those with whom they are

brought into contact is not also improved. There is a longing for brotherhood in the heart of men, and especially for brotherhood with those they esteem and reverence. It was this feeling which was satisfied in earlier times by occasional intercourse with superiors, when not only dependants, but those who could claim his acquaintance, shared in a feeling of elevation when the great man of the village or neighbourhood rose to eminence or gained distinction; it is this feeling which threatens to prove dangerous to the well-being of the community if some provision is not made for its satisfaction, when classes of society are so widely severed as they now are in this country.

There can be no doubt that there is a deep and wide-spread desire, on the part of many of the upper and middle classes, to bridge over this gulf, to weld together more closely rich and poor. They recognise that the cessation of personal friendly relations between all ranks and classes of society is a great evil, and will be productive of danger to our social condition if some sufficient remedy is not provided. They evidence the sincerity of their conviction by giving a large amount of personal self-denying labour, and munificent gifts of money, for the benefit of those who in any way need assistance, or are brought within the range of their sympathy. It is not

from the will of individuals that the separation has chiefly come, but from the natural action of our commercial system. It is not calculating selfishness on the part of the smaller section of the community that has taken them into the suburbs, and more remote places ; but the changed character of the neighbourhoods in which trades and manufactures are carried on, and the substitution of comparatively few large employers for many smaller ones. Individuals feel powerless to struggle against changes which they see taking place on all sides of them, and they often do not act, only because they do not see how to act wisely. They perceive the evils growing around them, but are incapable of devising a remedy, or of clinging to an exceptional mode of acting, and so they let things drift, and do as their neighbours do. In our large towns, and especially in the Metropolis, we are rapidly falling into that democratic state described by de Tocqueville, the tendency of which is to "dispose each member of the community to sever himself from the mass of his fellow-creatures, and to draw apart with his family and friends, so that after he has thus formed a little circle of his own, he willingly leaves society at large to itself^b."

The rich do not feel responsible for those in a less-favoured position, whilst these latter have

^b Democracy in America, iii. 205.

none of those personal inducements to respect those in superior stations which they once had. And so all go their own way : both classes suffer in the formation of their character by mixing only with such as are like themselves, whilst those in inferior station also suffer by being deprived of an ideal which they might try to copy, of a superior friend whose counsel they would value, and whose praise would stimulate them to more diligent efforts to be worthy and virtuous members of society. So far, then, as it was the mixture of classes that made England a united nation in the past, that unity will be lost, unless some other means can be discovered by which that result may be secured.

If individuals feel that they can do little in this matter, we may be assured that the legislature can do less. Our relations one to another are self-formed : they admit of no constraining force from without. Society refuses to be regulated by the action of the State in all that depends for its excellency upon personal feeling, friendship, or sympathy.

Under such circumstances, it is most probable that there will soon follow what de Tocqueville thus describes : " Amongst democratic nations, all the citizens are independent and feeble ; they can do hardly anything by themselves, and none of

them can oblige his fellow-men to lend him their assistance. They all fall, therefore, into a state of incapacity ; if they do not learn voluntarily to help each other^e."

And so men are driven to unite whenever they feel oppressed by any evil, or when they are eager to obtain some common object. Most likely, therefore, there will be a banding together of people, even to a greater extent than at present. And it is essential for us to do what we can to secure that such unions shall be for good and wise ends, and not for dangerous and destructive ones.

One of two ends will underlie such unions. Either their chief ruling motive will be the destruction of what is, or the promotion of some good common purpose. We have, in the history of France since the latter part of last century, an illustration of what will be the effect of the mass of the people uniting to destroy the existing state of things from hatred of those who are above them. The warning is too striking, and portions of it too recent, to need words of mine to point the moral. When we come to consider what good end shall be set before the people that will really attract them, that will truly unite them in its pursuit, who can tell what it shall be? The past cannot be restored. There is no possibility of

^e Democracy in America, iii. 222.

retracing our steps. The good must be developed out of the present state of things, and adjusted to the new wants of society. No one would rejoice more than I should to see some practical plan for regaining that unity of feeling, that mutual regard, that personal sympathy, amongst our people which is lost; but I can see no political device, no re-adjustment of the state of things amid which we live, that has the elements for securing such a result. Let those who believe in the natural perfectibility of man, or in the power of legislation to regenerate the country, produce, not a scheme, (for of these every quack will have his own,) but proof, that some scheme of theirs has been successfully tried. Till this has been done, I must disbelieve that they can do so. What I expect is, that for a long time this or that nostrum will be held up as the cure for all earthly ills,—sometimes it will be a social one, sometimes a political one,—and that when several such have been tried and have failed, men will turn from such proposals in disgust, and will be more likely to be dangerous from a sense that they have been deceived. At present, secular education is the special nostrum proposed. Those who have watched its results in the countries where it has been tried know what must be its effect here. It will make men value wealth and

luxury more, and so render them more dissatisfied if they cannot obtain them. It will make the sense of inequality rankle more deeply in their minds, and will cause them to be utterly unscrupulous in the means they take to rectify such inequality. The United States of America, and the French Commune, ought to be warnings to us in this matter; the one by the grievous frauds amongst its officials and prominent men which are being perpetually reported, and by the low state of commercial morality, which its newspapers openly, and its citizens privately, assert to be universal; the other, by the complete overthrow of those principles affecting property and personal rights which we deem essential for the well-being of society. I should be glad to hope that we did not think ourselves too wise to learn from such examples.

I believe, that for averting the dangers by which we are surrounded, no cure can be effectual that is not drawn from that new principle of life which our Lord Jesus Christ gave to the world. Christianity is the healing influence which God has given to man, and it alone can accomplish what is needed. It is from the power of Divine grace alone that a sustained life of obedience to the law of Christ can proceed; I believe that the Church might band together men

from all ranks of the community, and that no other influence can permanently do so. But then it would demand a double portion of that Spirit which was manifested in the early Church. Her mission is to bind together in one all the families of the earth, and she could not better re-assert her position in this land, than by seeking to unite more closely men of the same kindred. For such an union as is required must be one that will enable men practically to feel that in the Church there is that true brotherhood for which their souls long; that there, and there alone, is to be found that real equality which proceeds from all recognising their true relations to God, and so to one another; that there, and there alone, is to be found that real liberty for which men pant, but which they so rarely find; which the world dangles before their eyes, but which it can never secure, for it leaves men slaves to their own passions and appetites, and to all the remorse which flows from their irregular gratification. Hitherto, the Church in this land has sought as a mother to provide for the wants of her children. She has at great cost, by the self-denying zeal of her members, furnished schools in which her children may be taught; latterly she has multiplied services by which her faithful may be confirmed and strengthened, instruction by which the erring and

misguided may be led into the right path. Beside this, she has liberally dispensed temporal help to those who were suffering from sickness or from want; she has reared asylums for the fatherless, and has liberally aided in founding and sustaining hospitals for healing the sick and the maimed; and convalescent homes in which the partial recovery may be perfected. Still further, she has provided homes for the fallen and most degraded, in which, with loving care, the sinner has been sought to be won from her sin; and reformatories, in which transgressors of other classes may be reclaimed from the errors and the evil into which they had fallen. All this has been the work of a mother caring for her children. But how little of it exhibits in perfection that fraternal feeling by which the children ought to shew that they are children of one common Parent. In nursing and tending the sick and the misguided, there has been manifested most of this spirit of brotherly love. In other fields it has been partially shewn, and I believe that it is the sincere wish of the more earnest and devoted amongst both clergy and laity to exhibit it everywhere; but hitherto it cannot be said that they have really understood how this is to be accomplished; and so the Church as yet has not succeeded to any great extent in supplying that

bond of unity which is rendered necessary by the altered condition of society. Men have lost the tie of brotherhood which the world furnished by the constitution of society, and the Church has not yet provided, in her own better way, the missing link. No doubt there are to be found many approaches towards the exhibition of such a relationship, but they are partial and insufficient; for the most part, the circle does not extend beyond a small band of fellow-workers, and its influence is not felt in every part of the community. What we need is, that in the Church should be realized the true brotherhood of all her members; that this should not be a matter of theory, but of felt experience; that in friendly intercourse the living members of the Church should try each to assist the other; whilst all should take counsel how they may best spread that life of grace, of which they have been made partakers, amid the surrounding gloom. There is work in the Church for men of all ranks and conditions to do; and the Church is grievously suffering, because all are not fulfilling their respective duties. But as yet the fraternal spirit, which is essential for its accomplishment, is but feebly realized. Men meet together for worship, it may be for celebrating that service which should be a bond of union, and then separate, ignorant even

of each other's names, and indifferent necessarily about each other's fortunes. There is little united strength, little common interest in the spread of the Church's work, little consultation about the best manner of reaching those that are without. There is a pouring of alms into a common fund for charitable purposes, but that and uniting in public worship are too often the only acts by which their communion is marked. For the wealthy and the educated this may be felt to suffice ; but for others, more sympathy and united action are required. If young men are to be enlisted as active soldiers in the army of Christ, they must know something personally of their fellow-soldiers, and of the officers under whom they are to serve. If by a consistent life of purity and honourable industry, of unassuming piety and hearty devotion, they are to witness for Christ and His religion in our large houses of business, they must be encouraged by the example and exhortations of those they respect, and upheld by the prayers of their brethren in the Church, and by the friendly support and real sympathy which they receive from them in private. If the Gospel message is to be successfully proclaimed in our great warehouses and manufactories, it must be by the holy lives and unblemished conversation of those amongst their inmates who profess to

be Christians. The only effectual messengers amongst men so circumstanced are those who belong to them. The clergy are powerless; they can seldom obtain the opportunity of privately addressing those whom they would influence. Moreover, it is not the preaching by words that is needed, so much as the preaching by a true and devoted life. "See how these Christians love one another," was once the attraction which won multitudes to the faith; and so, now, it is only perfect integrity, real unselfishness, self-denying efforts for the good of others, that can secure a like result.

But we all start from the same point. Each one of us has the same natural repugnance to working in such a cause. Such actions are difficult to us. Such a life needs more courage and devotion than most men possess. It is the Church's office to strengthen for their task all who would wish to undertake it; and this can only be done by her sons shewing love one to another, by a living bond of union being felt to exist amongst them. The Church must not be looked upon as a building or an abstraction, but as living, loving hearts, united to carry out the common object of advancing Christ's kingdom and glory. With such an union, the divisions of wealth would cease to be a governing principle in regu-

lating the happiness and prosperity of a country. A real and true brotherhood would be established, that would rise above the petty jealousies and miserable envyings by which we are now consumed, for it would assist all, and encourage those who needed support and sympathy. And depend upon it, that if such a spirit were seen to be governing the lives and influencing the conduct of the professed servants of Christ, many of those that are without would be won by their example ; whilst the dangers arising from the unequal distribution of wealth amongst us would be averted, and the prosperity of the country placed upon a sounder basis than it has ever hitherto been.

LECTURE III.

OF the importance of the relations of employers to employed, of labour to capital, I need say nothing. The prosperity and well-being of all States, but especially of a commercial country like our own, are bound up with such relations. Every patriot, therefore, must view with the greatest anxiety the disturbed condition into which they are continually thrown, and as these relations depend upon the happiness and contentment of the more dependent class, let us enquire into the provision now made for them, and compare it with what was done at the era of the Revolution.

In examining this question, there are two distinct points from which it may be viewed; the one regards the position of the labouring classes absolutely as it is in itself—Have they more comforts, and a larger share of the necessaries of life now, than they had in 1688? The other considers their position relatively, what is it when compared with that of the other sections of the community?

And first, I would speak of their position abso-

lutely. Have our labouring people more comforts and enjoyments, or fewer, than they had 200 years since? No doubt the men of the earlier date had their grievances, as the men of our day have theirs. With the latter we are familiar, of the former we know very little indeed; for novels and instructive stories were not written about them, and history is all-but silent concerning their condition. To judge from the cottages in villages and hamlets, and the older dwellings of the labouring population in towns, we must conclude that the people were ill-housed — worse housed than they are at the present day: that their homes were very unhealthy we know, for the deaths in the Metropolis annually exceeded the births by 2,000^a: many things which are now considered necessities, such as tea and coffee, were then forbidden luxuries to the labouring classes, whilst tobacco, now so much used by them, would be quite beyond their reach. The general style of living for people of all ranks and stations was much harder and rougher than it is at present. The amount of work which men were able to perform would seem to have been greater. On the other hand, sufficiency of what was considered necessary was probably more general then than it is now, whilst the labouring classes had ad-

^a Gregory King's *Natural and Political Observations*, p. 42.

vantages which they do not now enjoy. The positive condition of the labouring people may, perhaps, be stated thus : in 1688, they had sufficiency, with hard work and no luxuries ; in our day, there is a greater struggle for life, but there are more comforts and luxuries within their reach.

Let me try to shew this by depicting the condition of the labouring population at the two periods ; and first, at that of the Revolution. The complete emancipation of the country labourers from villenage was not then a thing of the distant past, as it is now ; it was not completed at the beginning of the seventeenth century ; it probably commenced soon after the reign of Richard II.^b, later than which we find no recognition of villenage in the Statute-book, though we do in manorial records. It was carried out, now more quickly and now more deliberately ; but it was almost necessarily accomplished slowly, as it resulted from the free and unconstrained action of individual lords of the soil, and not from legislative enactment ; it therefore took several generations to finish the work ; records exist of such emancipation in the time of James I., and perhaps even later. When a lord emancipated his serfs, he endowed them with a freehold or copyhold interest in a strip of land sufficient to preserve them from

^b Froude's History of England, 2nd edit., i. p. 13.

want, and by these means considerably increased the number of landholders.

At the era of the Revolution, the number of small landed proprietors was very large. It is reckoned that there were 180,000 freeholders^c at this time, whose holdings, at the present value of money, would be worth from £100 to £200 a-year, whilst there were only 150,000 tenant-farmers^e; and as the land-tax then formed a large proportion of the national revenue (nearly two-fifths of the whole^d), upon this point the figures we possess are probably accurate. In comparing the freeholders of 1688 with freeholders in 1867, we must remember that then small freeholds would chiefly consist of land, whereas now, owing to the much wider spread of money capital, they would more generally be made up of houses^e. Beside these freeholders and tenant-farmers, there were nearly 17,000 larger proprietors of land^f, and about 10,000 clergymen^f. Mr. Gregory King estimates the whole rural population at 4,000,000^f. Allowing four mem-

^c Gregory King's Observations, p. 48.

^d "In the year, Michaelmas, 1691, to Michaelmas, 1692, the land taxes amounted to £1,610,613 2s. 5d.; the revenue collected during the year to £4,111,088 10s."—*Harleian MSS.* (*Brit. Museum*), 3,274, p. 3.

^e "The annual income from burgage or houses, in 1688, was equivalent to five millions; the *increase* in the annual value of houses rated to income-tax, between 1855 and 1865, was nineteen millions."—*National Wealth*, p. 29.

^f King's Observations, p. 35.

bers to each family, and 355,000 for the number of families of landed proprietors large and small, of clergymen living in country parishes, and of farmers, these would number 1,420,000, and so would only leave rather more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions of persons in the country districts, who belonged strictly to the labouring classes. If we suppose that two-fifths of these were qualified labourers, and the other three-fifths women and young children, we should then have less than three labouring men on an average to each person who might be in a position to employ labour. And we may remember that averages then would not be so deceptive as they often are now, because nearly all were more upon a level. Allowing for the large number of servants and dependants in the houses of a comparatively few larger proprietors, we should find that not more than one or two working-people would be employed by the same person. The unmarried men would live in the farmer's house, partly to secure the long hours of work which were then required, and partly as a defence against the gangs of highwaymen who certainly roamed about the country a century later, and broke into houses in more retired places, and of whom we hear in the legislation of this period §.

§ "Whereas the Highways and Roads within the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales have been of late more infested

The labourers would take their meals at the same table with the farmers in whose houses they lived ; they would be on nearly equal terms with their families. It would be a rare thing for a farmer not to toil side by side with the men in his employ at the hard work upon the farm. The comfort of such labourers' position would of course largely depend upon their own individual character and that of their employer. The out-door labourer enjoyed many advantages which recent extensive enclosures have taken away. The commons provided such as could purchase a cow with food for its keep ; and for the many who would be unable to do this, there would be opportunities for keeping pigs and poultry beyond what are now enjoyed ; every cottier had a strip of land for his own cultivation. Wages would vary from 10s. to 12s. 6d. a-week, estimating money at its present value. But from the small amount of capital in the hands of the farmers, and from the very indifferent modes of agriculture pursued, it is probable most out-door labourers would be employed for only a portion of the year ; and so during the winter months their maintenance would be par-

with Thieves and Robbers than formerly, for want of due and sufficient encouragement given and means used for the discovery and apprehension of such offenders, whereby so many murders and robberies have been committed," &c.—*Gul. and Mary*, 4^o. c. 7, 8. (Statutes at large.)

tially thrown upon the poor-rates. Beside the money wage, there was generally some allowance of food or of drink. In the more thoroughly rural parts, North Wales e.g., the custom lingered till our own day, of a bell summoning the out-door labourers in his employ to their meals in a room provided for the purpose in the Squire's house. Most of their own provision they found for themselves; but milk, or occasionally beer, and cheese were furnished for them by their employer. In these ways a living personal relationship was established between employers and employed. The men did not simply work for their hire, but for masters whom they knew, and with whose families they were intimate, and in whose prosperity they were interested. As he was their friend, so they felt elevated by his successes, and depressed by his misfortunes; whilst he would take care that they did not suffer extreme want, though he might not infrequently resort to the objectionable plan of compelling the whole parish to contribute towards their support when their labour was least needed.

If we compare with this the present condition of our rural population, we shall find both losses and gains. Most of the privileges then enjoyed have been commuted for money payments, but the average of wages has not really risen: cot-

tages are improved, and sanitary requirements much better attended to. The life of the labourer is lengthened, but it is doubtful whether the conditions under which it has to be passed are more conducive to happiness: whilst the vicious practice of partially paying wages out of rates has disappeared.

But to turn to our town populations, for it is with them we are chiefly concerned, and it is from their altered condition that the changes which affect the country have flowed. In 1688, there were few, if any, large manufacturers, no extensive contractors, few, if any, great employers of labour. When this cathedral was built, the authorities had to purchase their own material, to hire their own workmen, to send their own men to dig the stone in the Isle of Portland, to contract with barge-owners to convey the stone to London, and to provide for everything which had to be done, instead of leaving all to be managed by a great building firm, as we should do now-a-days. The consequence of this was that the work of the country was done by a great number of men who wrought with their own hands, had apprentices who lived in their houses, and some of whom might employ, more or less regularly, a few journeymen. There was no broad line of demarcation between skilled labour and capital in the building trades;

I refer chiefly to these because they are common to the two periods, and have not grown to importance recently, as so many other employments have done. In most of the industries connected with building, skilled labourers would be in the pay of the owner of property who required their assistance, and not in that of a master of their own trade who paid them wages. The consequence of this would be, that the artisan would generally have the additional advantage which is now gained by the master who employs him, as well as his own wages. In exceptional cases, when a few journeymen wrought for an employer of their own craft, all would stand much more nearly on an equality than is the case at present. The wealthiest builder in those days would now be regarded as a small man. In manufactories, such as that of silk in Spitalfields, hosiery in some of the midland towns, woollen cloth in the west of England, the fabrics were made in the houses of the skilled artisans. They had hand-machines let out to them, for which they paid hire, and then they were entrusted with raw material to manufacture. To judge from the complaints with which we meet of the hardships those engaged in such occupations had to encounter, their position must have been very inferior to that of carpenters, bricklayers, etc. Whilst these earned what would

now be represented by 6*s.* 3*d.* or 7*s.* 6*d.* a-day, those engaged in manufactures seldom received more than 2*s.* 6*d.*

You can easily perceive the advantages which would be enjoyed when a great body of workmen were circumstanced as were the large body of artisans at the era of the Revolution; they would to a great extent be in the rank and position of independent tradesmen, and would be brought into contact from time to time with persons of all classes; they would be surrounded by neighbours who employed them when they needed their services, and with many of whom they would be in the position of equals and not of inferiors: few of them would accumulate much money, but the industrious and capable would derive a comfortable competency from their trade.

The introduction of steam-power for manufacturing purposes compelled a complete change in the manner of conducting many kinds of manufacture, and gradually wrought a revolution in the mode of carrying on most trades. Its use made it necessary to collect a number of work-people into the same mill or work-shop; for wherever steam was employed, all must work on the premises. Moreover, manufactories carried on by steam-power could be managed much more economically on a large scale than on a small one.

The consequence was, that an amount of capital was created by trade, or attracted into trade, by the extensive scale on which it was conducted, and it ceased to be possible for those who had not the command of large sums of money to compete successfully with those who had. Gradually, therefore, most of the skilled labourers were absorbed in large manufactories or work-shops, and as the wages that were paid to workers in mills were greater than could be earned by agricultural labour, there was no difficulty in procuring the hands required. Large numbers of women and children also found regular employment in them, and thus the aggregate earnings of many families were considerably increased.

The attraction of a large capital into manufactures, and the development of the mineral resources of the country, quickly produced great changes in the manner of carrying on other industries. Steam had been extensively employed for water carriage, as well as for manufacturing purposes, and it was thought it might be useful for land traffic. The complete success of the first railways led to the extension of this method of communication all over the country. The construction of railways was very costly; the necessary capital had to be raised by a plan previously but little adopted in this country. Persons fur-

nished the funds that were required on the principle of a limited partnership, each partner taking what proportion he liked, and having shares issued to him for the amount. The Directors raised the money needed for the works by calls at stated periods; many of the railways were of considerable length, and were being constructed at the extremities, or at distant intervals, at the same time, and so were more difficult to oversee. Moreover, it was a great object at the outset to know what the cost of construction would be. For these, and for other reasons, the old plan of principals purchasing the required materials, and employing operatives to carry out the works, was departed from; and the construction of the roads was let out for fixed sums to contractors, who were capitalists, or who were connected with persons who would provide capital for them. In this way the principle of employing contractors, instead of undertaking the trouble and responsibility of arranging for the execution of works by independent tradesmen or work-people, was largely extended, if not introduced. It was thought to be, and probably was, more economical, as it threw upon persons better skilled in the details of such business all the arrangements that had to be made; it limited the responsibility of those who had the direction of great undertakings, as they

knew approximately at the outset how much they would have to pay ; whilst the very large fortunes made by many contractors prove that it was a system likely to be favoured by those who undertook such works, and who drew such large gains from them.

The system thus popularized has since spread to an enormous extent. No one follows the plan adopted when this cathedral was erected, but nearly all works, large or small, are let by tender, and entrusted to the contractor who will complete them for the smallest sum. The consequence of this is, that considerable capital is necessary for carrying on business economically and successfully. And so large work-shops have superseded small ones, the little masters with their two or three journeymen have been swallowed up by leviathan establishments, each sufficiently large to find occupation for a small town ; and under these altered circumstances there is necessarily an end of personal relations. The master has become an abstraction to the men, many of whom have probably never seen him ; the men have become an abstraction to the master, who leaves all that relates to them,—their hiring and discharge, and such like matters,—to his foremen. They are part of his plant by which to earn his profit ; he is a necessity to them in their efforts to earn

bread. The relations between employers and employed have lost their personal character; they are not based upon their common humanity; they do not recognise their common Christianity; they are simply a mercantile transaction, in which gold represents the whole weight of obligation between them. It follows, therefore, necessarily, that in such establishments there is a gulf between capitalists and those who labour for them that it is difficult to bridge. But whilst this is so, it must be thankfully acknowledged, that many of the masters are most anxious to promote the education and well-being of their men; they willingly contribute to whatever they think will conduce to the moral or physical improvement of those in their employ; but they rarely have the heart to give their life to the task of elevating, civilizing, and christianizing the men that create their wealth; and nothing short of this could effect what has to be done. They must live amongst them, they must know them individually, they must visit them at their homes, they must be their trusted counsellors and friends, as well as their employers. And this cannot be done without more self-sacrifice, abandonment of personal comfort, pursuits, pleasures, ambitions, than most men are willing to make, and therefore it is not done. There is but one motive

which would enable a man really to accomplish it, and that is, the love of Christ constraining him. Alas! that few masters or workmen would regard this as a motive to which they would care to appeal.

With this change from small employers to large ones, it was a necessary consequence that the system of training artisans for their trade should be entirely altered. At the earlier date, the custom was universal for the master to lodge and board his apprentices in his own house. So completely had this system taken hold of the minds of the people as necessary for the efficient training of skilled workmen, that when in the middle of the last century Messrs. Boulton and Watt had to train a large body of smiths to construct the steam-engines of which they were the inventors and manufacturers, they went to considerable expense in building and furnishing a house in which their apprentices might be lodged under suitable supervision. They refused to receive gentlemen's sons as apprentices, though large premiums were offered them to do so, because they thought they would find themselves out of place in the companionship of parish apprentices, fatherless children, and hospital boys, of whom the rest of the apprentices were made up^h. The thought of two

^h Smiles' "Life of Boulton and Watt," p. 178.

classes of apprentices on a different footing, or of apprentices without the discipline of living under their oversight, was evidently so contrary to the prevalent ideas of the day, that it was never entertained.

But it was not only the change from small employers to large ones which destroyed the old system of apprenticeship. With the introduction of mills for manufacturing purposes, there came a large demand for child-labour. Poor-law guardians were anxious to lighten the rates: many of those who wanted child-labour were glad to obtain it on terms which preserved them from interference or fault-finding by parents. And so a practice sprung up of children of six or seven years old being apprenticed by the metropolitan parish authorities to manufacturers in the country until they were twenty-one. Parliamentary Committees examined into the subject, and the one in 1815 reported that, "There are without doubt instances of masters who in some degree compensate to children for the estrangement which frequently takes place at a very early age¹ from their parents,

¹ The same Report speaks "of children of six or seven years of age, who are removed from the care of their parents and relations at that tender time of life, and are in many cases prematurely subjected to a laborious employment, frequently very injurious to their health, and generally highly so to their morals, and from which they cannot hope to be set free under a period of fourteen or fifteen

and from the nurses and women to whom they are accustomed in the workhouses of London, and who pay due attention to the health, education, and moral and religious conduct of their apprentices; but these exceptions to the too general rule by no means shake the opinion of the Committee as to the general impolicy of such a system."

The effect of this abuse of the system of apprenticeship had brought the system itself into partial disrepute, when the convenience of those who conducted the trade of the country, under the altered circumstances of a quarter-of-a-century later, all-but destroyed it. Apprentices in the house are now found comparatively seldom, and whilst I rejoice over the destruction of the evils which men's greedy love of gain had introduced into it, I cannot but regret the closing of valuable opportunities for inspiring feelings of reverence and regard in apprentices towards their employers, and of kindly friendship in masters towards the younger men in their service.

The actual money earnings of artisans at the two periods are not very different. Valuing money in 1688 at the rate named in my last lecture, carpenters and bricklayers would then have received

years, as, with the exception of only two parishes in the Metropolis, they are invariably bound to the age of twenty-one years."

what is equivalent to 6*s.* 3*d.* and 7*s.* 6*d.* a-day^j, they would now earn an equal sum if they laboured for an equal number of hours^k: whilst the artisans engaged in manufactories are no doubt much more highly paid than were the comparatively few operatives of the kind in those days.

It is when we contrast the relative position of those who represent capital and those who toil for them, that we feel the latter do not occupy the position they should do. They have not substantially improved, whilst the former have. The employers of labour are now largely numbered amongst the most wealthy of the land; the gains from trade and manufactures would appear to be increasing every year, the middle classes enjoy comforts and luxuries to which our fathers were

^j The following items are from MS. books of accounts in the Cathedral, October, 1689:—

	£	s.	d.	
2 Carpenters	0	3	0	a-day each.
36 „	0	2	6	„
18 Bricklayers	0	3	0	„
7 „ (labourers)	0	1	6	„
20 „	0	1	4	„
8 Watchmen	0	0	8	per night.
Sir Christopher Wren	16	13	4	per month.
Oliver (his assistant)	8	6	8	„
18,750 plain bricks	15	0	0	
Meat for dogs this month	0	5	0	

Mason, for sawing 220 feet Portland stone at 6*d.* per foot.

^k 8*d.* an hour is the ordinary rate of wage.

strangers. It seems to me that the discontent so widely prevalent amongst our labouring population, arises chiefly from a feeling that the fruit of their toil is not equitably distributed. They do not value the talents, which make the difference between themselves and those whom they see rising above them, at the rate at which the world practically does. A coarse and hard nature will often succeed better in trade than a more sensitive and refined one, even though endowed with fewer talents; and when they see this, men murmur at it.

You will observe, that so far my statements have concerned those occupied with hand-labour only. At the present day, there is a large and influential body of men engaged in the public service, or as clerks in banks, mercantile houses, wholesale establishments, and other places of business: there were comparatively few persons similarly circumstanced in 1688. The Bank of England had not then received its charter: the East India Co., the Guinea Co., and the Hudson's Bay Co., were nearly, if not quite, all the chartered companies then enjoying the principle of limited liability. The foreign trade of the country was very small. It would be useless, therefore, to look for the counterpart of commercial institutions, such as now abound. But as I thought the enquiry might interest you, I have traced the salaries of some officers in the Customs

and Excise at that time, that I may compare them with what is now paid. The management of the Customs was then vested in seven Commissioners, each of whom received what would be equivalent to £3,000 a-year¹; the present first Commissioner receives £2,000, his deputy £1,600, and the next in authority £1,200 a-year^m. The Secretary of Customs then received what is equivalent to £1,000 a-year¹; he now receives £1,400^m: the Solicitor had then £750 a-year¹; he has now £2,000^m: a copying clerk was then paid £100 a-year¹; he now receives on an average £110^m: the salaries of the coast or tide-waiters then ranged from £75 to £100 a-year¹; they now vary from £90 to £100^m. In the Excise, the collectors then had £300 a-yearⁿ; the average of what they now receive is £600^m: the supervisors then averaged £225ⁿ, now £230^m; the gaugers then £125ⁿ, now £130^m.

	£	s.	d.	
¹ 7 Commissioners, each	300	0	0	per quarter.
Secretary	100	0	0	„
Solicitor	75	0	0	„
Copying clerk	10	0	0	„
6 coast-waiters, each	7	10	0	„
4 „ „	10	0	0	„
Surveyor of do.	15	0	0	„

Harl. MSS., 1,652.

^m Estimates, Revenue Department, 1871.

ⁿ Excise :—

Collectors, per annum, £120.

Supervisors „ 90

Gaugers „ 50 *Harl. MSS., 7,428.*

If you have followed the figures, you will have noticed that they help to confirm the conclusions previously drawn, and the estimate I gave of the difference in the value of money at the two periods; the incomes of copying-clerks, coast or tide-waiters, supervisors of excise, and gaugers are the same now as they were then, if we reckon 1s. in 1688, to be worth 2s. 6d. in 1871; these incomes have grown in the same ratio as have the wages of those engaged in hand-labour. The salaries of the heads in the Department (places generally held by persons of rank or position, who are to some extent selected from political considerations), are much lower now than they were then; whilst the incomes of the Secretary and Solicitor of Customs, and of Collectors of Excise, are largely increased; the persons filling these latter positions claiming the higher income, which they would be able to obtain as capitalists in the world's mart.

It will be seen that, in comparing the relative position of hand-labour and capital at the two periods, I regard the chief material disadvantage in the present to be a failure to improve, and not any positive deterioration. It is difficult to see how this could have been avoided. So long as the labouring classes live from hand to mouth, they require all that they earn so soon as they

have earned it. Their readiness to pay high interest for small loans for a short period shews the urgency of the necessities of vast numbers of them, and their inability to wait for any portion of their wages. If by thrift and self-denial they could overcome this primary difficulty, then the obvious remedy for the disadvantage of their present position (when compared with that of other classes) would be for labour to have its fair proportion of value assigned to it in reckoning the cost of production, that so the profit on all manufactured articles might be equitably divided between capital and labour. To some extent a system has been devised which meets the present evil, and is in operation in a very few places. In these, after the division of a fair interest (10 per cent.) upon the capital employed, the surplus profits are divided in certain proportions between masters and men^o. Such a system would do much to restore the men to the kind of equality with their masters which existed two hundred years since, to inspire them with a real interest in the work on which they were engaged ; would make them more anxious to avoid waste, and would inspire the more thoughtful amongst

^o "On Labour," by W. T. Thornton, pp. 370—377. The same system has been adopted at Price's Patent Candle Company (Limited).

them with a sense of the perfect justice with which they were treated. Moreover, by making it more within the reach of the men really to make a provision for old age, and the possible misfortunes of the future, it would assist in causing them to be more provident. All classes, then, who were engaged in the manufactures of the country would be equally interested in their prosperity, and the labouring classes equally with the capitalists would feel the advantage of increased conveniences and comforts, when profits were larger than usual.

Upon our chief loss in a moral point of view I spoke in my last lecture; I therefore need only dwell upon the same theme so far as it is specially affected by the relation of which I have been treating. It is obvious that in the ordinary course of things a master ought to have considerable influence with his men; his example should carry a weight that the example of no other person could do; a word of encouragement or warning from him should possess an influence beyond what the same word, uttered by any one else, would have. I believe, that when the relations of capital and labour were in a sounder state this was so. When this influence was removed, the first result was attended with much evil. The working people had no real sense of their own

responsibilities ; they were more like grown-up children than reflective men ; they were extravagant in prosperity, they were often murmuring or desponding in adversity. In the one case, they needed the sobering influence of a superior whom they respected ; in the other, the encouraging sympathy of a friend on whom they could rely. Deprived of such assistance and support, the great mass of them have shewn how much they needed wise and kindly leaders. It has been impossible for the clergy in our large towns to make the people value the instructions of religion as they should do. The clergy need some to assist them ; they cannot minister successfully when left quite to themselves. They naturally look to the more educated members of the community for co-operation. If these fail, and the men are left as atoms, separate and distinct, with nothing to bind them together, without a sufficiency of education to allow their reason to be successfully appealed to, with prejudice and distrust rankling in their hearts, and making them suspicious of those who speak to them in God's Name, the isolated efforts of the clergy can effect but little. The burden of caring for the morals and well-being of the whole community does not rest only upon them. They can proclaim the truths of the Gospel, but they cannot make the

people willing to listen to them. They can teach their flocks their duty, but they cannot compel them to fulfil it. There needs example as well as instruction, the power of attraction in those they really know, and whom they ought to reverence. Laymen look to religious laymen to see what is the worth of religion; they test its efficacy in the influence it exerts upon their lives. It ought to have been that those in the superior position would have helped to supply what was required; it is certain that when they are isolated from the men in their employ they create a prejudice which is a new obstacle in their path, when they would really seek God earnestly. As I once heard a very large employer of labour say, when invited to join in an attempt to improve the dwellings of the labouring poor: "It will not do for our names to appear, or all our men would be instantly set against every house you might build." This, then, is another point to bear in mind. Those filling the responsible position of capitalists cannot be neutral. If they are not working for the improvement, elevation, and Christianizing the men in their employ, they are working against them. Their relations to their men may sit lightly on their minds, may seem to them to be a matter of little or no importance, but to those in their employ it is the concern of surpassing

moment. If they do not respect him for whom they work, they will dislike him; if they are not attracted by him, they will be repelled; if they feel that he simply regards them as part of the plant by which he amasses wealth, they will envy that wealth, and will not improbably be ready, should occasion serve, to injure his property, or to claim as their own whatever portion of it they may ever be enabled to clutch.

The dislocation, therefore, of the relations between labour and capital has deprived the Church of what ought to be one of its most powerful levers in working for the spread of high morality and true religion in the world. We have largely lost the influence that came through authority from superiors; our next resort must be to seek the help of persuasion on the part of equals. The evangelists of the present day should consist largely of those who are occupied in our vast warehouses, manufactories, and work-shops. They can preach Christ by their lives, by the living power of their example, by a few words judiciously spoken when occasion serves. We cannot persuade those who are estranged to listen to us; those of you who mix with them in the daily business of life may effect what we cannot. It is not by argument that you will convince, but by the exhibition of a meek and loving spirit. It is not by words that you

will convert them, but by manifesting the power of Christ in your own lives and conversation.

Many of those I address know much more of the dissatisfaction, discontent, and murmuring against employers that unhappily exist, than I can do. Much of it may be irrational and unjust, some of it may arise from those higher responsibilities of a master's position which I have described not having been realized. I think they will bear me out when I say, that it is comparatively seldom the amount of wage which is the cause of irritation and estrangement, but that it is much more frequently the feeling that a money payment has been substituted for all other ties; that they are treated as part of their master's plant, and not as immortal beings; that whilst they possess loving hearts and keen sympathies, these have been converted into hearts full of hatred and suspicion by the feeling that they are undervalued or neglected.

In the interests of our common country, as well as for the sake of our Saviour Christ, I would call upon all to realize that bond of brotherhood which binds us to those whose position is inferior to our own, as well as to those who are placed above us in the social scale. We must help, or we must hinder; each one of us must be assisting in the union of classes, or in their disintegration. De-

pend upon it, that it is only those who seek to discharge their work in the world as a religious work, a work for Christ, a work which will help or which will hinder their own salvation and that of others, who will ever fulfil this work patiently, unweariedly, and to the end. It is easy to be excited for a time by a flash of enthusiasm, but it is the power that cometh from God which alone liveth and endureth for ever.

LECTURE IV.

TO-NIGHT I propose to consider with you the subject of pauperism. It is a subject inferior in importance only to that which I treated last week, if indeed it be inferior; and, as I need scarcely add, it is of a most practical character.

The first point to ascertain is the number of persons who at the era of the Revolution received parochial relief; this number can be accurately given, and certainly it is surprisingly large. Out of a population of $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions, more than 2 millions were excused from paying poll-tax^a: this tax pressed with varying weight upon different portions of the community, the lowest charge being 1s. a-year. From even this burden were exempted "such persons as shall receive almes of the Parish

* "viz. Persons receiving alms	600,000
Their children under 16 years	300,000
Children under 16 years, of persons not paying to church and poor	600,000
Children under 16, of day-labourers	240,000
Children of servants in husbandry	140,000
Children of such as have 4 children or more, and are not worth £50 (150,000 parents)	180,000

Gregory King's Observations, p. 57.

where they dwell, and their children being under the age of 16 yeares, and all children being under the age of 16 yeares of all day labourers, and of all servants in husbandrie, and of all persons who by reason of their poverty are exempted from contributing to the Church and poore: and also all children being under the age of 16 yeares of such who hath foure or more children, and is not worth in lands, goods, and chattels, the summe of £50^b."

Under these provisions of the Act of Parliament, we find that 600,000 adults, and 300,000 children, were exempt because they received "almes of the parish:" in other words, one-sixth of the whole population were recipients of parochial relief, and therefore, as we commonly use the word, paupers. This statement needs explanation, but in any case it shews that recourse was had to the rates for relief to a frightful extent. There are no complaints of pauperism, or of its great spread or increase at this period: in the State Papers preserved at the Record Office, there is during the whole reign of William III. but one which relates to the poor^c, and that is a petition from the Vicar and Churchwardens of St. Martin's-

^b Poll-tax, 1688, 10 Gul. and Mary, c. 13, (Statutes at large).

^c This is the only one mentioned in the Catalogue of these papers in the British Museum.

in-the-Fields, praying the King to continue an annual benefaction of £100 for the relief of the poor in this parish, made by his predecessor. There is throughout the same period an almost entire absence of legislation on matters directly affecting the poor, there being only three Acts of the kind, and of these two defined somewhat more strictly what was required to secure a settlement in a parish, and of the third I will speak presently.

We have, then, to turn elsewhere for an explanation of this great number of paupers. It is given in a discourse touching provision for the poor by Sir Matthew Hale, written not half-a-dozen years earlier than the date of which I am speaking^d. He pleads for regular trade employment being found by certain portions of the country for their poorer inhabitants, instead of their burdening the poor-rate with their partial support in the improvident way then common. It is clear from this, that the vicious practice of partially paying wages out of poor-rates was then in vogue: one of the exemptions, that for the children, if four or more, of persons worth less than what would now be £125, shews that the State paternally provided for the easement of persons with large families; and if the State discharged such persons from paying taxes, though it knew nothing of them individually, the parishes would naturally make provision for similar

families with whose circumstances they would be well acquainted. The practice, therefore, which grew to such an extent as to compel legislative interference of a very stringent character about a generation back, dated earlier than the time of the Revolution; and from the figures I have given, it had then converted a considerable portion of the peasantry of the country into recipients of parochial alms. The only step taken to check the pressure of the poor upon the rates, during the reign of William III., was an enactment in 1696, to which I referred above. It ordered that persons receiving parish relief, their wives and children, should wear a badge on their right shoulder with a Roman letter P, and the first letter of the parish to which they belonged worked upon it. Overseers were to be punished if they relieved persons without their having this badge^e.

When we turn to the amount of pauperism in our own day, we find it not very dissimilar. One-sixth of the population were then in receipt of parochial relief, and if we may trust the statistics in the appendix of Mr. Baxter's lecture on our national income, about the same proportion are now inscribed annually on the list of paupers. The evidence for this is a paper furnished by the Poor-Law Department, with one item suggested by Mr. Baxter, which the able statistician in that

^e 8^o and 9^o Gul. III., c. 30, (Statutes at large).

Department thinks understated, and which probably may be.

The ordinary Poor-Law returns shew only the number of persons relieved on Jan. 1 and July 1 of each year. From these an average is struck, and that is the whole information we possess of the entire number of persons relieved by the rates during a year. In 1857, a more complete statement was made, and Mr. Baxter says that it is "the only return in existence of annual paupers^f," and in it the average, as ordinarily stated, was about 820,000, whilst the number of persons relieved at other times than Jan. 1 and July 1, during the year, was about 3,780,000. Mr. Baxter^g

^f National Income, p. 87.

^g The table Mr. Baxter gives, is as follows :—

Paupers, in-door and out-door, relieved during the half-year ending Michaelmas, 1856.	1,845,782
Paupers, in-door and out-door, relieved <i>only</i> on July 1, 1856	796,102
Paupers, in-door and out-door, relieved during the half-year ending Lady-day, 1857	1,934,286
Paupers, in-door and out-door, relieved <i>only</i> on July 1, 1857	843,430
The apparent total for the two half-years is	3,780,068
But from this must be deducted the whole number of paupers relieved on Michaelmas-day, 1856, say	800,000
Leaving the net total	<u>2,980,000</u>

National Income, p. 87.

In 1870, the average number of persons relieved was 1,032,800; taking the same proportions at the two periods, this would give

thinks that a smaller proportion of the persons relieved on those days should be deducted from this total; the Poor-Law Board a larger number. If the former is right, and if the real number relieved bore the same proportion to the average number in 1870 that it did in 1857, $3\frac{3}{4}$ millions of persons, or one-sixth of the population, received parochial relief; if the latter is right, and the ratio remains unchanged, about 3 millions, or one-seventh of the population, must have been so assisted. Taking the hand-labouring classes as three-fourths of the whole population, this would shew, on the more favourable calculation, that 3 persons in 16 of these classes received parochial alms, to a greater or less extent, during the year; or, to put it in

rather more than $3\frac{3}{4}$ millions as the total number of persons relieved. If we deduct the whole number of persons relieved on the two days from which the average is taken, as representing those who are twice entered on the list, and the skilful Statistician of the Poor-Law Department does not think that so many should be subtracted, though he claims a much larger deduction than is made by Mr. Baxter, we should then have 2,140,000 as the number of persons relieved in 1857; and at the same ratio, about 2,700,000 in 1870. The truth probably lies between the two statements; according to Mr. Baxter, one in six would be paupers; according to the extreme calculation of the other, one in eight. The amount spent in relief at the two periods would give a somewhat similar result. In 1857, £5,899,000 was expended on the relief of the poor only; in 1870, £7,644,300. If Mr. Baxter's figures are right, the difference in the amount expended upon relief would give 3,866,000 as the number of paupers relieved in 1870: if the lower estimate was correct, the number would be 2,780,000.

another way, where we have five persons not belonging to the hand-labouring classes who participate in an income of £100 a-year or upwards, we have three who are assisted out of the poor-rates.

Of the other exemptions to paying poll-tax I need say nothing; that impost was a property-tax, not a poor-rate, and I only cited it for the conclusive evidence it furnishes of the number of persons in actual receipt of parochial relief. But I may be allowed to say, that the exemptions in our income-tax Act are much more extensive in the interests of the labouring classes, than were those in the Act of William III., to which I have referred.

We have next to examine the amount levied for poor-rates at the two periods. Davenant, who wrote about this period, shews in a most carefully constructed table, framed, he says, with great trouble, the average amount raised by poor-rates in England and Wales during several years at the end of the reign of Charles II.^h It amounted to

^h "The poor-rates set down in the tables may be very useful to such as love computations, and who are inquisitive into the common business of the nation, and desirous to know its strength and weakness. It was collected with great labour and expence by Mr. Ar. Mo., (Mr. Arthur Moore written in the margin,) a very knowing person."

"He had not the account of Wales, but according to the propor-

£665,000 a-year, or (as we reckon 1s. then to be worth 2s. 6d. now) to £1,660,000. But the population then was only one-fourth of what it is now; for the purposes of comparison, therefore, this sum ought to be multiplied by 4, which would give us something more than $6\frac{1}{2}$ millions for a population equal to that now living in England and Wales. The actual amount levied last year under the name of poor-rate was nearly $11\frac{3}{4}$ millions¹, and of this something over $7\frac{1}{2}$ millions was applied to the relief of the poor only¹, and the rest to various charges, of which only a comparatively small portion was in any way connected with the relief of the poor. Or, to put it in another form, the cost per head of the population for poor-rates in 1688 was equivalent to 6s.; in 1870, (if we include only that portion of the poor-rate which was applied to the relief of the poor,) to 7s. It is worthy of remark, that poor-rates held a very similar position to the

tion Wales bears to the rest of the kingdom in other taxes, the poor-rate there must have been £33,753. So that the poor-rate throughout the whole nation was about £665,362."—*Davenant's Works, Essay upon Ways and Means, Edited by Sir C. Whitworth, M.P., 1771, vol. i. p. 41.*

¹ "Total expenditure from poor-rates, and from sums received in aid of rates, £11,737,613: whereof was expended for relief of the poor only £7,644,307."—*Poor Relief Return, ordered to be printed by House of Commons, July 3, 1871.*

general revenue of the country at the two periods. At the time of the Revolution, the net revenue of the country was a little over 4 millions^j, the poor-rates £665,000, or about one-sixth of the amount; in 1870, the gross revenue of the country was about 75 millions^k, whilst 11¼ millions were levied for poor-rate. To make the calculation complete, allowance should be made at the earlier period for the income of the estates attached to the Crown; at the latter, for the difference between gross and net revenue,* and for the large sum levied as poor-rate, and not applied to the relief of the poor. Probably the allowances needed at the two periods would nearly justify the estimate as it stands.

This comparison shews us, therefore, that not only is the proportion of paupers to population about the same at the two periods, but that the cost per head to the inhabitants of the country is not materially different.

These figures have to be modified by the con-

^j The amount of the income of the country, from Michaelmas, 1691, to Michaelmas, 1692, (the first time in the reign of William III. when the accounts were made up for an exact year,) was £4,111,088 10s.—*Harl. MSS.*, 3,274, p. 3.

^k Revenue of United Kingdom, (this includes Scotland and Ireland, which are not included in the income of the country in the reign of William III.,) for the financial year ending March 31, 1870, £75,521,843.

sideration, that it was then the habitual practice to support the families of labouring people at times of need out of the poor-rate; probably, as agriculture was in its infancy, a large proportion of the married farming-men received some help from this source during the winter months, when there was but little occupation for them in the fields; and it is not unlikely, to judge from the exemptions to the poll-tax to which I have called your attention, that poor people having large families were helped by the parishes when their children exceeded a certain number, as was certainly done at a later period. It was a most objectionable plan for providing hire for the labourer. But in carrying out such a system, the Englishmen of 1688 had one great advantage over us at the present day; they knew more about their poor people than it is possible for us now to know about the great majority of those who seek help from the parochial authorities, or from private benevolence. The parishes were then for the most part small; the poor who were chargeable to the parish were known to the local authorities; locomotion was difficult, and there were no great industries to tempt them from their own homes, whilst they would ever be deterred from roaming by the fear of what would happen should they be unable to earn their own livelihood. The

number, therefore, of casual paupers would be comparatively small. It would have been possible, with a little trouble, to deal with each man according to his deserts; to compel the slothful and dissolute to feel the effects of their own idleness and vice, whilst the more deserving but unfortunate could be better cared for. The number of paupers must have been greatly swelled by such a mode of procedure; the spring to exertion must have been materially weakened by it; but it would most probably secure to the poor a sufficiency of the necessaries of life: and when nearly the whole class of labourers was assisted in this manner, the sense of shame, and of being degraded by receiving parochial relief, would not be felt, as it would have been had it been a more exceptional state. London was then the only place where it might seem difficult to obtain personal knowledge of those who were in want. It then contained nearly half-a-million of inhabitants; but even there agencies were at work to diminish the evils in connexion with the management of the casual poor which have ceased to exist. The City parishes were of small and manageable size, as they continue to be; the proximity and capacity of most of the City churches shew that they were intended for small populations. The 97 parishes within the walls were es-

timated to contain 72,900 people in 1688¹, or upon an average, 750 souls each ; whilst the 16 parishes without the walls numbered 149,500 inhabitants¹, or nearly 9,350 each. In the 7 parishes in Westminster 103,200 people found a home¹, or more than 14,700 persons in each of them ; whilst the 15 out parishes in Middlesex and Surrey contained a population of 154,000, or more than 10,000 each¹. With the exception, therefore, of the City proper, the authorities would have had a large and apparently unmanageable number of persons to deal with ; and it might seem as though they would have had the same difficulty in discriminating between the deserving and the vicious which we have at the present day. But there are reasons for thinking that their task was much more easily performed than is ours ; Mr. Gregory King estimates "the number of vagrants, viz. hawkers, pedlars, crate-carriers, gipsies, thieves and beggars" in England and Wales at 30,000^m ; deducting from this number the many persons who must have gained a reputable livelihood by some of the vocations which he classifies with disreputable occupations, such as thieving, the number of professed vagrants and beggars must have been comparatively smallⁿ. The severe laws

¹ Gregory King's Observations, p. 35.

^m Ibid., p. 48.

ⁿ At the census of 1861, the number of beggars, costermongers,

then in force against such persons would drive most of the hopelessly idle and vicious into dishonest courses, and we know that not only the commons and heaths in the neighbourhood of London abounded with highwaymen, but that it was not safe to traverse alone or unarmed after dark the road that separates Westminster from the City, or the unlighted streets of either of those cities. The probability, therefore, is that many who would now thrive by imposture and lying, would then be driven to acts of open villainy. There was warmer sympathy felt then, possibly, by people generally for the poor, but it extended over a more limited area. A man's charity would seldom overflow beyond the boundaries of his own parish. He would feel that he had done his duty when all within its limits were cared for.

The knowledge that such was the rule generally acted upon, would deter the great mass of people from seeking to change their abode. They were sure of bread to eat in the parish where they had a settlement, it was more than doubtful whether they would find any to hold out a helping hand in a place where they were not known.

crossing-sweepers, hawkers, drovers, gipsies and paupers, of no stated occupation, was 97,691 ; whilst there were besides 125,722 inmates of workhouses, and 26,096 inmates of prisons.

A few adventurous spirits would be attracted to the great Metropolis to seek their fortunes, and would have an additional spur to goad them to exertion. If they succeeded, all was well ; if they failed, they would be surrounded by temptations to prey upon society in some dishonest manner.

The difficulty, therefore, of deciding whether persons unknown ought to be relieved would not exist then as it does now. The kind of persons of whom this class is now largely made up was not then to be found. No such difficulty would then exist concerning parishioners. Industrious artisans and work-people would be known by their neighbours. If they had been apprenticed and had behaved reputably, there was the master in whose house they had lived for seven years to speak in their behalf to the proper authorities, should they fall into poverty : if they had been industrious, and been overtaken by misfortune, there must always have been neighbours, who would know the truth of their story, to assist them in some way ; they would generally have lived all their life near the same spot, amongst the same people. There must, therefore, have been ready means of discovering what was necessary to be known about them.

In London only could there have been any difficulty, arising from the number of inhabitants ;

for the population of all the other cities and market-towns in England and Wales was only 855,000°. None of them would contain populations of an unmanageable size. To these towns there would be no special attraction, except for a comparatively few from the more immediate neighbourhood. Honest efforts, therefore, to make the poor-laws effectual for the benevolent design they were intended to accomplish, would be tolerably certain to be crowned with substantial success, and the system would only work harshly towards the comparatively few who were tempted to try their fortune away from home, and failed in their endeavour.

Further light is thrown upon the subject, by the information we possess concerning the expenditure out of the poor-rates in the different counties of England. It was not the poorest counties where the poor-rate was the heaviest, neither was it in London and the suburban parts, where we might have expected that a greater pressure of population would have produced such a result ; but it was in the counties which were reputed the richest, where agriculture was most flourishing, and where the husbandman ought, therefore, to have been in a condition of greater comfort, as he ordinarily received higher wages. The northern

° Gregory King's Observations, p. 35.

counties were then the poorest; even a century later, before they had become the great centres of manufacturing industry^p, wages were much lower there than in the south. We find in 1688, that the charge per house for poor-rates was, in Cumberland, 6s. 6d.^q; in Durham and Northumberland, 5s. 1d.^r; in Yorkshire, 4s. 4d.^s; and in Lancashire only 3s.^t; whilst in what was then considered the much wealthier county of Sussex, the rate was

^p "It is plain to an observing eye, that there is an equal plenty of provisions in several of our south and western counties as in Yorkshire, rather a greater. I believe I could make it out that a poor labouring man may live as cheap in Kent or Sussex as in the bishoprick of Durham; and yet in Kent a poor man shall earn 7s., 9s., or 10s. a-week, and in the north 4s., or perhaps less. The difference is plain in this, that in Kent there is a greater want of people in proportion to the work there than in the north.

"And this, on the other hand, makes the people of our northern counties spread themselves so much in the south, where trade, war, and the sea carrying off so many, there is a greater want of hands.

"And yet it is plain there is labour for the hands which remain in the north, or else the country would be depopulated, and the people come all away to the south to seek work; and even in Yorkshire, where labour is cheapest, the people can gain more by their labour than in any of the manufacturing countries of Germany, Italy, or France, and live much better."—*A collection of Pamphlets concerning the Poor, with Observations by the Editor, Thomas Gilbert, M.P.*, 1787, p. 72. (In the British Museum.)

^q There were 15,279 houses, according to the books of Lady-day, 1690; the levy for poor-rates was £4,988.—*Davenant's Works*, p. 38.

^r Number of houses, 53,345; Poor-rate, £13,620.—*Ibid.*

^s Number of houses, 121,052; Poor-rate, £26,150.—*Ibid.*

^t Number of houses, 46,961; Poor-rate, £7,200.—*Ibid.*

all-but 16s. per house^u; and in Kent, 12s. 9d.^x The purely rural county of Rutland charged each householder more than a pound for the maintenance of the poor within its borders^y; whilst in London and the parts adjacent, the rate was only 10s. 1d.^z From which it follows, either that there was most poverty where there was most wealth, for the quarterly poll (the property and income-tax of the day) yielded double the amount in Kent to what it produced in Lancashire^a, and very nearly as much in Sussex as it did in the two counties of Durham and Northumberland^b: or that where the agriculturists were in better circumstances themselves, they added to the comforts of their labourers, by granting them more liberal doles out of the poor-rates; or that provisions were so much dearer in the south than in the north, that it needed only one-half the sum in the latter, to maintain life, than was required in the former.

Let us now turn to the consideration of the present position of the very poor in our large towns, and

^u Number of houses, 23,451; Poor-rate, £18,720.—*Davenant's Works*, p. 38.

^x Number of houses, 46,674; Poor-rate, £29,875.—*Ibid.*

^y Number of houses, 3,661; Poor-rate, £3,730.—*Ibid.*

^z Number of houses, 111,215; Poor-rate, £56,380.—*Ibid.*

^a In Kent, £24,275 17s. 5d.; in Lancashire, £12,732 15s. 2d.—*Ibid.*

^b In Sussex, £12,924 16s. 11½d.; in Durham, Northumberland, and Berwick, £13,028 19s. 9d.—*Ibid.*

especially in this Metropolis ; and in doing this, I must repeat a little of what I have previously said. It is obvious that they can have friends amongst the upper classes only by accident. They dwell in one quarter, the richer portion of the community in another ; there are, therefore, no ties of neighbourhood to bind them together. A very large proportion of the working-people are not in the regular employ of the same masters ; for a short time they are hired by one person, and then for a short time by another. If their employer took the personal oversight of those toiling for him, he could know but little of men hired so casually, and exchanged so frequently. It seldom happens that they have any personal relations with the master whose wages they receive : they know him only through his representative ; he knows them only as impersonal hands. A good character is not felt to be of that importance which it would be, if it was known for certain that it would materially affect the chance of obtaining work in the future. Let the men behave ever so well, they feel in many trades that they must change their employer when the work on which they are engaged is completed : let them behave ever so ill, they know that their character will not be enquired into when they again seek to be hired. Of course the higher consideration remains unalterably the same :

their work is for eternity as well as for time ; their manner of acting must influence their destiny for ever, whatever may be its present effect. This is apt to be forgotten ; and the conditions under which the least-educated and least-disciplined portion of the community have to pass their lives, expose them to temptations to regard character as of little moment, far beyond what is experienced in any other class of society.

This separation of men from their masters occasions another evil. It thus becomes equally easy for all to obtain work ; the man who has passed a life-time in a parish has not very much advantage over the man who arrived yesterday from the other end of the world. This increases the difficulty of the older hands obtaining work, and is perpetually inviting rivals to compete with them for the employment on which they ought to be able to count, if they have faithfully performed the tasks previously entrusted to them. In some trades the men are perpetually changing their residence ; sometimes employed in the country, at others in London, they are compelled to roam about or to starve. The influence of frequent change upon men's moral character is very injurious : it gives the feeling that all is in motion, nothing is fixed ; it breaks ties that might improve and elevate, and there is ever difficulty

in forming fresh ones. Such a system isolates a man in the world; he is not only continually changing his employer, but he is as frequently changing his fellow-workmen: his interest in his work is thus materially diminished; it lacks the additional pleasure which is afforded by meeting old friends and acquaintances. All this tends to make a man selfish, indifferent to the convenience or happiness of others, and makes him centre his thoughts as well as his efforts upon gaining all that he can for himself. Under the most favourable circumstances, the life of the labouring classes has necessarily fewer enjoyments than falls to the lot of others who have more of this world's wealth. A little consideration will shew that these additional burdens must indeed be heavy to be borne.

Suppose men thus situated to be unable to procure employment for a long period: trade is dull; no new works are being undertaken; the streets swarm with men seeking occupation by which they may earn their bread, and are unable to obtain it. It is then that the difficulties I have just enumerated are most keenly felt: there are no friends in a higher position to encourage or assist them; there seems to be nothing in the world which they can grasp to support them; their houses are gradually stripped of comforts,

conveniences, necessities, that they may obtain bread to keep themselves and their families from starvation. I have known too many brave fellows in this position, not to feel for the depth of its misery, and the intensity of its suffering.

But then with prudent forethought, may not the labouring classes make provision against such probable calamities? This is much more difficult than we are apt to imagine. Every age has its standard of what is necessary, and what is desirable for comfort. It is nearly impossible to see comforts and luxuries, and to be quite indifferent to them. All are affected by the manner in which other people live. It is felt to be a hardship to be denied even a taste of what others seem to be enjoying to satiety. And so when opportunity favours, the labouring classes will for the most part seek to have what they consider their share of enjoyment. I am expressing no opinion about this ; I think that generally they pay a most disproportionate price for indulgence in comforts or amusements beyond what they can really afford, in the consequent privation they have to endure ; I am only stating what is, not what ought to be. But supposing this difficulty mastered, there is still a very formidable one behind, and that is the great average loss of time which even the steady and industrious have to provide against,

in the building trades at all events, if not in other occupations. I am told that not more than one man in twenty in these trades has a regular situation, in which he has always work to do and wages to receive. Concerning the others, I have obtained information which assures me that out of a number of workmen of ordinary ability and character, last year the carpenters lost upon an average one-eighth of their time, or six weeks in the year; masons and plasterers a-sixth, or two months in the year; bricklayers still more, nearly three months; and painters, from a fourth to nearly one-half. The savings of most men with families to support would be consumed by these average periods of non-employment, and so would leave them quite unprovided should an exceptionally severe winter or derangement of trade deprive them of work for a still longer time.

The moral effect of this is very depressing; we need hope to inspire us with the power to make exertion; without some measure of success few persons can persevere. We cannot be surprised, if for several years a man tries to be provident, and to lay up something against future wants and old age, and for those years he is baffled by having to spend all his savings during the weeks he is waiting for employment, that at last he loses heart. It is most miserable for the man

himself when he does so, but it is not to be wondered at.

I fear that the great mass of the working-classes do not persevere so long as this. But little disciplined at home in their youth, they have ordinarily little or no self-restraint: whatever they earn, they spend. Unchecked by religious principle, they too often indulge viciously and recklessly in whatever pleasures come within their reach. The fearful sums annually spent in intoxicating drinks and tobacco prove this. They have made no true preparation for bringing their passions and appetites under control, and therefore whenever inclination prompts, they yield to its influence. Faith in Jesus Christ alone could make them conquerors over their besetting faults, and such faith they too generally lack.

Hence, we see how it is that the number of paupers is so fearfully large. Those who spend all their earnings are driven to seek parochial relief so soon as they cease to earn. The stone-yards connected with the workhouses are filled with men undergoing a certain amount of toil to earn bread, whenever they are deprived in any numbers of their ordinary occupation. We reject the idea of supplementing wages with parochial relief; and wisely, if we make such provision for our labouring people that they can live without it; our

poor-laws are framed to exclude such a system ; but still, because of the unsatisfactory condition of our hand-labouring population, we practically do what we deprecate, and until their condition is materially improved, I do not see how we can help doing it. We must either support out of the poor-rates the labouring men during the intervals when they are without work, or they must starve.

But cannot some plan be devised by which the deserving and provident may be distinguished from the mass who have brought their sorrows upon their own heads by improvidence, by self-indulgence, it may be by drunkenness or by sloth ?

Nothing is more desirable, but I speak from experience when I say, nothing is more difficult. To whom are we to seek for information about the working men in our poor parishes ? who knows them sufficiently well to tell us accurately about them, and about the causes which have led to their present distress ? Their past employers can help us but little, for reasons which I have already given : their shopmates or neighbours will too often speak of them according to their personal likings or dislikings, and so cannot be depended upon. The most undeserving are often the most plausible, and the most skilful in securing favourable testimony to their needs and

to their deserts. It needs much time and trouble to ascertain all the facts correctly, and who is there to give it?

Certainly it cannot be done by the present staff at our workhouses. The relieving-officers are far too few to be able to expend much time on each investigation in ordinary times^c, whilst in special seasons of privation and poverty they can do little more than accept the applicant's own account of himself. What their officers appointed for the purpose are unequal to accomplish, the Boards of Guardians are still less able to effect. They can only register the conclusions at which their officers have arrived, and make orders accordingly.

* In Lambeth the population is 208,302; there are 8 relieving-officers. At Elberfeld, in Prussia, a new system of poor-law administration was adopted in 1853, which has worked most successfully. It is based upon the principle, that careful personal examination into the circumstances of each person seeking relief is a better safeguard against imposition and fraud than the workhouse test can supply. It is carried out in a town of 71,000 inhabitants, by 18 overseers and 252 visitors. By its operation, the number of paupers has been reduced in 17 years from 4,000 to 1,062, and the amount expended in relief from £8,932 to £3,860. In Lambeth, each relieving-officer has the oversight of the poor amongst 26,000 persons; in Elberfeld, each visitor is responsible for the poor amongst 270. The fact that the relieving-officers in Lambeth are paid, and in Elberfeld the visitors unpaid, would not enable the former to sift 100 cases with the same exhaustive care that the latter would expend on each individual brought under their notice. See a Report on the Poor-Law System of Elberfeld, by Mr. Andrew Doyle, Poor-Law Inspector. 1871.

Again, then, the labouring people, when they are reduced to want, have the same trial to endure which has faced them when they were seeking employment. They are assisted irrespective of their previous character. It is not improbable that the family of the drunken spendthrift will be more liberally helped by the parish than the wife and children of the sober, struggling labourer who has been overwhelmed by misfortune. There will be a gloomy painting of his poverty and suffering, and hiding of its alleviations by the former, from which the latter will shrink. There will be an air of squalor and wretchedness about the home of the former, which that of the latter will lack. People accustomed to cleanliness and thrift will throw an air of neatness and even comfort about a miserably-furnished room, which will elevate it far above the abode of the slothful and slatternly, even when they are in prosperity. The effect of this want of discrimination is to encourage the vicious and the undeserving to prey upon the poor-rates. By misrepresentation and fraud they are ever trying to deceive the parochial authorities. Sometimes they are detected, more frequently they succeed. In resisting such people, it is not unnatural that relieving-officers should learn to regard all applicants with more or less suspicion, and to treat them accordingly.

This deters the more needy and deserving from applying; they shrink from the ordeal through which they know they must pass before they can succeed, and so they prefer hiding themselves from the eye of their fellows, and dying of want. In a return ordered by Parliament last July of the number of deaths in the Metropolitan districts in which the Coroner's Inquest had returned a verdict of "death from starvation," we find that of the seventy-four persons upon whom such a verdict had been returned in 1870, scarcely any had applied for parochial relief.

There is another source from which large help flows to the poor. I mean private benevolence. Let a cry of want be raised in this country, and an abundant stream of liberal assistance flows in from the wealthier classes. Speaking from my own experience, I should say that money is never grudged for such a purpose, and that there are persons ready and anxious to give all that can be required, if only they can be assured of their bounty being wisely administered. Again, the difficulty meets us, how are the deserving to be discriminated from the undeserving? how are those whose sorrows have been occasioned by misfortune to be distinguished from those which have arisen from drunkenness and sloth? The clergy and their district visitors possess a certain

amount of knowledge from having visited the homes of the people, and from knowing some persons in most streets on whose information they can to a certain extent rely. But then such knowledge covers only a part of the field. Much distress arises from want of ability in the sufferers. Put into a groove they could go steadily on, but the conditions of labour in London prevent their ever getting into a groove. And so they drift on with their head never much above the stream of want, which threatens to drown them, and with the end frequently appearing to be inevitable; whilst their character resembles their circumstances. They are steady and sober when in want, not to be depended upon at other times.

• Beside these, there is in every parish a number of beggarly people who besiege the administrators of charity, and too often by their importunity obtain more than they are entitled to. The greed of such people adds to the difficulty experienced by the more modest and deserving in asking for what they really want; they are afraid of being thought like people whom they despise. In well-administered parishes there is some knowledge of the more deserving, but the perpetual changes of residence by a large proportion of the hand-labouring classes, and the overwhelming populations in most of our poor parishes,

cause necessarily that such knowledge should be very incomplete. And so in the administration of private benevolence mistakes are being constantly made, and the poor know it, and comment upon it, and censure harshly and severely those who have done their best, but whose knowledge was imperfect. They would not assist to preserve the distributors of relief from error by giving the information, which, after the mistake has been made, they readily pour out. And again, and perhaps in its most trying form, the suffering poor feel that perfect justice is not meted out between those who have failed through no fault of their own, and those who have become paupers because they would rather beg than work.

From these causes there has arisen in our Metropolis a swarm of professed beggars, of lazy, good-for-nothing people, who would rather prey upon those who can give, than toil for their own maintenance. They rely upon that want of knowledge which they know to be general; and upon that kindly sloth which makes many people willing to sacrifice a little money from fear of being harsh, rather than give up a little time to secure that proper enquiries are made. And so begging letters, lying petitions, often with forged signatures, plausible tales of sudden, pressing need,

abound. The multiplicity of applications increases the difficulty of examination ; the benevolent are often at their wits' end to know what is best to be done ; they long to give, and to give liberally, but they do want to be assured that they are giving wisely.

I hope I have succeeded in making you feel throughout that the one root of evil from which arises all the errors in our administration of charity, public and private, is want of personal knowledge of the poor by the richer classes. The difficulty of remedying this evil is very great, owing to the separation of residences. We do not want patrons for the poorer classes, but friends. It is not administrators of alms that are required, but that persons in a superior station should take trouble to know and to advise those in inferior positions, as well when they are in full work and need help from nobody, as when they are out of work and in great poverty. It is difficult to cultivate such relations, except some starting-point can be found from which to act. This is the great advantage possessed by the clergy ; it is this that enables so many of them to be the friends and advisers of the poor. They live amongst them, and there are numberless ways,—schools, clubs, and penny banks ; sickness in families, and directly as pastors of the parish,—in which they naturally come

into communication with them. Much of their work they are compelled to do by deputy, as it is impossible for them to do more than a fraction of what devolves upon them in their own persons. In this way they can find employment for many volunteers.

But much more than this is needed. We want above all things a real and thorough organization of all existing charities, not for the sole purpose of repressing the unworthy, but much more for seeing that the worthy are not overlooked; not only for preventing some from being pauperized, by being enabled to appeal successfully to a number of independent dispensers of relief, but for assuring to the modest but unfortunate some share of that charity which all would wish to be given to them. The task is a gigantic one, for it needs great changes and improvements in the administration of parochial relief, as well as more system in the distribution of private benevolence. A society has been set on foot to carry out this object, and I most heartily wish it success.

There is one way,—too often a forgotten way,—in which those who would fain do something for the good of their poorer brethren might assist. There are few places of business in which there

are not porters, carmen and others in an inferior position ; there are many in which a considerable portion of work is done by persons of the labouring classes at their own homes. These men, so occupied, have often families ; they are exposed to being deprived of their situations by sickness or other cause ; they suffer severely in seasons of depression from want of work ; they have a life—an inner life—in addition to that which is exhibited in the discharge of their ordinary duties. I believe that much good would be done, if the more earnest and devout of our City young men would devote a little time to caring for these men at their homes ; to being kindly and thoughtful, not patronising, to their families ; to making them feel that they recognise their common Christianity, and that this tie is strong enough to enable them to disregard that accidental difference of position by which we are all too much severed one from another.

In conclusion, I would urge upon you to consider the solemn manner in which this duty of caring for our poor and afflicted brethren is pressed upon us by the Highest of all authorities. Our Lord promises a blessing to personal service, to those who care for the weaker and suffering members of His Body. The righteous are

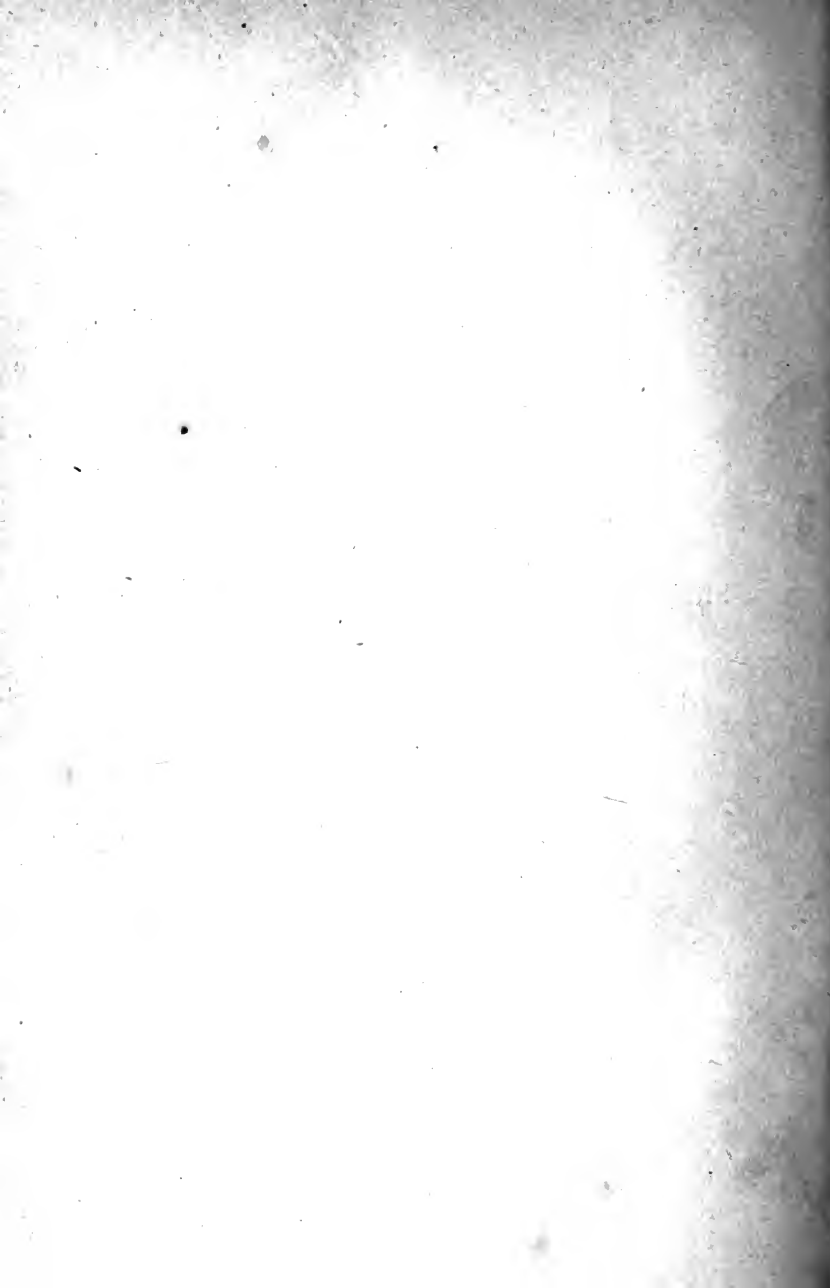
bidden to inherit the kingdom prepared for them, because they ministered to His wants in the persons of His poorer and needy members; they fed them when they were hungry, they clothed them when they were naked, they visited them when they were sick. But, beside this, Christ washed His disciples' feet, and taught them that He, their Lord and Master, had done this in order that they might learn to act in like manner towards each other. His love stooped to the most menial act, that His disciples in every age might neglect no act of love by which a brother might be won, from fear of loss of dignity or position. His majesty shone the more conspicuously from the humiliation He endured; and so with us. We need not fear that we shall forfeit our position, or derogate from our true dignity, if from hearty love for Christ we seek to win our brethren to a true sense of the end for which they were born, the cause for which they came into the world, by acts of sympathy and love. Real dignity is best maintained by a faithful discharge of the offices which have been entrusted to us, and true efforts to fulfil all our responsibilities. True Christianity is ever exemplified by a real and faithful appreciation of the work He has committed to His people to accomplish.

It was to further this end that these lectures were undertaken, and I shall feel that my reward is great, if any have been led by them to see a deeper requirement than they did before in the instruction, "Let him that loveth God, love his brother also."



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